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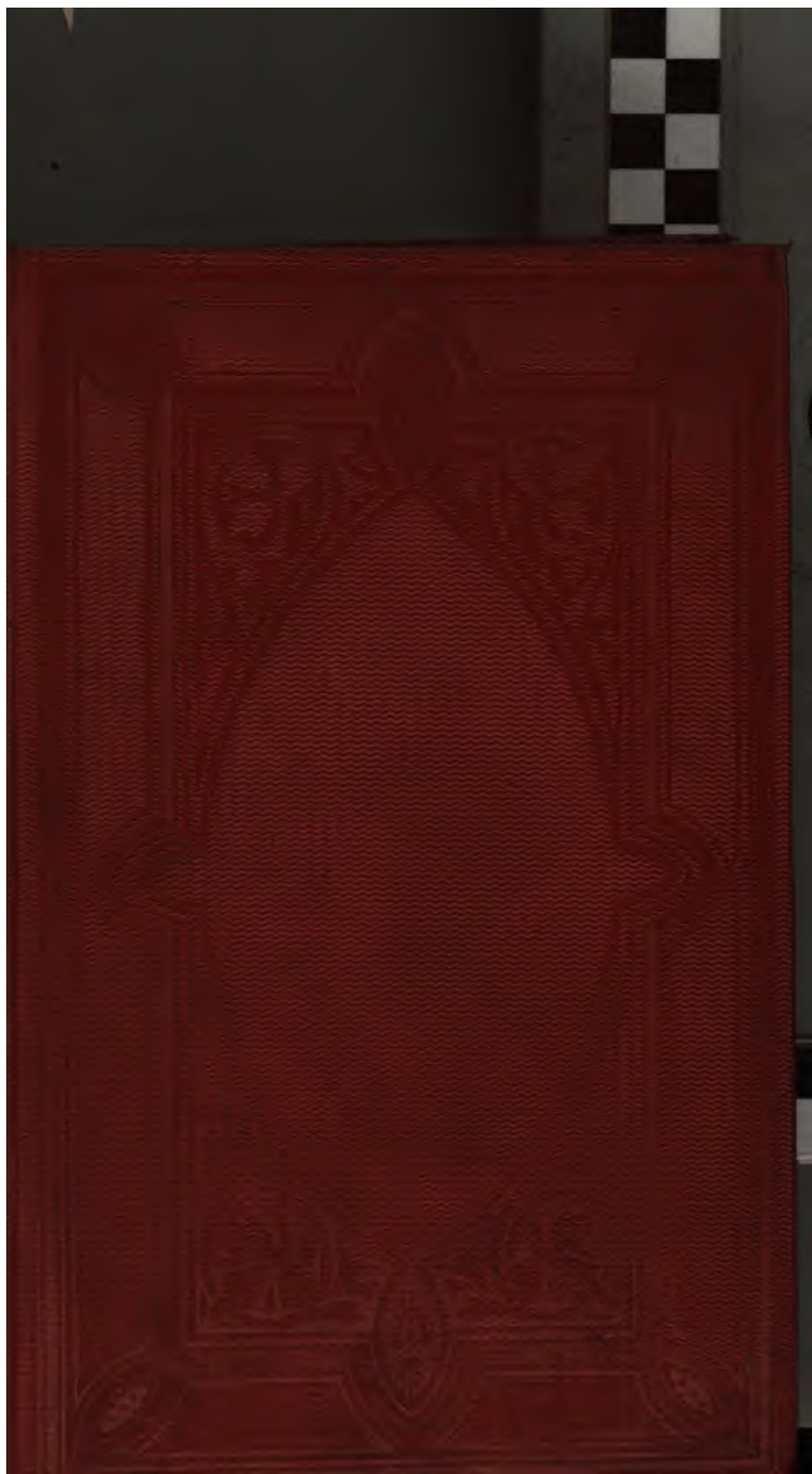
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Canton

THE WALLS OF CANTON ON THE NORTH-SIDE.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE
OF
THREE YEARS' SERVICE
IN
CHINA.

BY
LT.-COLONEL FISHER, C.B.,
ROYAL ENGINEERS.



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Consecutively, at the
end of the work.

THREE YEARS' SERVICE IN CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory remarks—Capture of Canton—Robbers—Yeh's embarkation, and that of his treasure—Commissioners appointed to govern the city—The idols deposed—Forts demolished—Insult to an officer avenged—The use of pigtails—Chinese arms and infernal machines—Good disposition of townspeople—Starvation and soup kitchens—Boats and music—Fire brigade and police—Pigeon English—I hire a "number one" honest servant—False alarm in the city—Sepoys.

SINCE my return from China, now two years ago, it has fallen to my lot to meet with very few of those with whom I served there; and from want of some one with whom to talk over old times, I found myself in a fair way of forgetting much of what I had seen and heard. In order to preserve my recollections, I set myself the task of re-writing, in my leisure minutes, the journal which I had kept in that country. Having now completed it, I am led to believe that what has proved interesting to me may not be uninteresting to others; therefore I am induced to publish this volume. As it is merely a narrative of my own personal experience, touching on collateral events only so far as is necessary to preserve the thread of the narrative, it has no claim to be considered a history. The early part of the war was so ably treated by Mr. Wingrove Cooke, and the last campaign by Col. Wolsely, and other writers; and its leading features have been so pro-

minently brought before the public, that any attempt of mine to renew the subject would be superfluous. But during the interval occupied by our residence in Canton many events occurred which are not generally known, and which are perhaps worthy of record, and may serve to fill up a gap hitherto unsupplied. The personal nature of the narrative must excuse the error of any apparent disproportion in the importance of events, arising from an undue prominence given to those in which I was personally engaged, to the comparative disregard of other, and perhaps more really important topics.

It is hardly necessary for me to allude to the origin of the war. The outrage on the "Arrow" opened again the question already too long deferred—of the right of entry into Canton, nominally ceded to us; the non-fulfilment of which had long been productive of most serious evil and inconvenience, as it prevented all intercourse with the authorities, and thus negated one of the chief objects secured by the last treaty. Following in the retrogressive course of his predecessors, and in open violation of solemn and additional engagements purposely entered into between the Governments, in order to explain and confirm the said treaty right, Yeh continued persistently to evade its execution; and now, when the affair of the "Arrow" necessitated its enforcement, he flatly refused to acknowledge it, and thus added the last drop which caused the cup of forbearance to overflow.

The occupation of the foreign factories by an insufficient force in 1856, which, however, was all at our disposal at the time, enabled the Chinese to gain a temporary triumph; for though the city walls were breached and scaled, and Yeh's palace entered and burnt, yet we were ultimately obliged to abandon the

position, and the whole settlement was completely destroyed ; literally, not one stone was left standing on another. The Chinese celebrated this success by the erection of a triumphal arch, which was, with others of like nature, destroyed by us afterwards.

The force sent out to operate under General Ashburnham having been diverted to India, it was not until December, 1857, that offensive operations could be undertaken. The intervening time was employed in necessary works of organization ; one of the most important of which was levying a corps of Chinese coolies for the transport service of the army. These men, renegades though they were, served us faithfully and cheerfully, and throughout the whole war proved invaluable ; their coolness under fire was admirable. At the assault of the Peiho forts in 1860, they carried the French ladders to the ditch, and standing in the water up to their necks, supported them with their hands, to enable the storming party to cross. It was not our custom to bring them into action, but the dangers of a distant fire which is often very galling and trying to the nerves, they bore with the greatest composure, and evinced a strong desire to close with their compatriots and engage them in mortal combat with their bamboos.

The capture of Canton on 29th December, 1857, was admirably managed, though by the Chinese it was considered that we took a very unfair advantage of them. In the first place, we did not come on the side on which they expected us, and where they had turned their guns on the approaches, crammed up to the very muzzle with grape ; and where they expected us to follow the example of Lord Gough, who advanced on the north side, capturing the fort named after him, and where he

was unfortunately bought off from storming the city by its paying a heavy ransom. But General Straubenzee, neglecting all precedents, attacked the city where the walls were least strongly defended; and even then, as the Chinese complained, instead of attacking the gates, he sent his men over like robbers; and when our troops gained the city heights, the flower of the Chinese force was shut out on the Gough Hill, where they were disagreeably informed of our success, by volleys poured into their rear from their own walls.

The French escalated on our left, but advanced to the attack a few minutes before the time agreed upon, an act of impatience which caused a loss to them as well as to ourselves, from shells fired by the Navy, which had been directed to continue the bombardment until the precise moment agreed upon for the advance of the troops. The loss incurred in the capture of the city was small in proportion to the result.

In some places the enemy fought with great obstinacy, more especially at the North Gate, which is in the Tartar quarter of the town; when after having been driven from the walls, they continued to keep up the fire from the streets; hiding themselves behind the corners of houses, whence they emerged for an instant only to fire, retiring again to load. A sailor who had fired many shots at one of these men with his Enfield rifle—a weapon at that time only recently come into use, and rather a complicated arm for him—meeting with no success, complained bitterly to a brother tar, who seeing the sight down, exhorted him, though the range was well under a hundred yards, to put up the —— ladder and try again.


During the first few days parties were employed in burying the dead: I observed that several Chinese

whom we interred were afterwards removed in the night; I suppose by their friends. The situation of the troops who for the most part bivouacked on the walls, was exceedingly picturesque. Some ponds close by were made to deliver up their fish, and the destruction of stray pigs was enormous.

The suspension of the local law called into existence bands of robbers, who plundered away right and left, and not content with that, dealt hardly with those who naturally endeavoured to save a portion of their own property.

On the 31st, I was walking through the eastern suburbs with some naval officers and a party of seamen, and we were implored to enter a large building which we passed. We found a poor old man with his head cut open standing at the door, and the place full of robbers armed with spears, who took to flight through the garden on our approach. The house was an "Asylum for Aged Men," which one might have thought would have been safe. We caught one of the robbers, and he at once drew out from his sleeve a short sword, which he was only prevented running into the officer who had laid hold of him, by Captain Hall's sword rattling rather sharply on his head. The rascal's weapon was broken, his pigtail cut off with one of the sailor's ready knives; he was stripped, and two dozen were laid on his shoulders with spirit by the boatswain, which, I hope, gave him a lesson on the consequences of maltreating old men.

During the first part of the occupation, whilst the troops within the city walls were establishing themselves, and making such defences as the position admitted of, large parties of sailors and sappers were employed daily making a communication by which



access could be gained to the heights from the river's bank, which would enable the troops and stores to pass from the vessels to the cantonments, without going through the streets. The point selected was one where a spur of the wall approached within 120 yards only of the shore. A narrow street led from a flight of stone steps on the bank, to the foot of the ramparts. The houses on one side of the street were pulled down, and those on the other side were reserved for stores. The debris was used in forming a ramp leading to the top of the wall, and also for the construction of a pier. As the period of our occupation extended, so did the area of our wharfage, with the necessary demolitions; and we ultimately had a pier 200 yards long, affording means of landing at low water. Previously, our feelings of gallantry were much disturbed by the ladies who navigated the boats having to turn out on to the mud, where with trousers tucked up as far as they would go, they pushed their flat-bottomed boats and barbarian freight over the mud to the shore.

On one side the wharf was protected by a creek, and on the other we cleared a space which could be looked over from our loopholed buildings, as well as from a parapet wall, behind which ran our road. If any apology is necessary for the extensive destruction of property incurred by this clearing of our front, it exists in the fact that we were often attacked by parties of braves and robbers, who approached, and endeavoured to set fire to our stores, under the shelter of the neighbouring houses, which were deserted by their legitimate occupiers.

The first use made of this communication was on the 1st January, 1858, when Lord Elgin, Baron Gros, General Straubenzee, and the allied Admirals entered the

city in state, salutes being fired from every ship capable of the act, from the top of the ramp, and from another point on the walls.

The houses which formed the materials for our road were mainly candle factories ; and the timber frame-work filled in with furniture, bricks, tiles, tallow, and the paint with which the joss tapers are decorated, would afford curious speculations for a future geologist ; the whole being before our departure worked down into a mass.

The natives very complacently undertook to pull down a neighbouring fort called the "French Folly," and for a trifling remuneration brought the stones of which it was composed, to be used in facing our pier.

The appropriation of storehouses was a point on which it was soon very necessary to come to an understanding with our allies. I saw one morning a French marine with a great pot of paint inscribing on the doors of the houses, in letters a foot high, "Magazin Français, No. 1," "Magazin Français, No. 2," and so on. I knew that the subject of appropriation had not been discussed, so I got a piece of chalk and marked all the others as "British Military Stores;" and, as my chalk was more expeditiously used than his paint, I got the best of it. My experience of an alliance is, that it makes you look out very sharply for yourself.

By the 5th we were so well established, that we commenced offensive operations, and an armed party moved down into the city and captured Yeh, the viceroy, as well as the general commanding the Tartar troops. The treasury was also ransacked, but did not turn out so productive as we expected. Yeh was brought down to the pier, to embark in the "Inflexible" for India. He looked very fat and stolid, and, at the same time,

rather bewildered, like a man in a dream. He had five or six attendants with him. Captain Hall handed, or rather shoved him without much ceremony into one boat, making all the attendants get into the other. Such was his exit from Canton : he was brought back in his coffin. As he had been degraded by the emperor for his defeat, and political failures, his body was not allowed to enter the city ; but, after having been for a time deposited in a temple in the suburbs, it was privately interred by his relatives. If a man brought up as he had been, and hardened by constant acts of cruelty, has the power of reflecting and feeling remorse for his deeds, what must have been his feelings during the months of his captivity—living a life utterly inactive, and totally without excitement to distract him ! So ended the career of the man who probably in the season of his power took in cold blood the lives of more fellow-creatures than any one of modern times.

On the 8th the treasure was brought down by a long line of coolies, with a strong guard. From its outward appearance, one might think that a fishmonger's shop had been plundered, as the silver, which must have been in bars, was wrapped round with straw, and looked exceedingly like so many salmon. It was said at the time to be worth about 60,000*l.*—not a very large amount ; yet, as it would weigh about 9 tons, and take about 350 coolies to carry, it made rather an imposing procession, especially when one looked at it in the light of money hereafter to be divided into shares for the captors.

It was considered that the government of a great city like Canton, inhabited by a people whose language and manners were known only to a few, would be rather a troublesome matter ; so it was determined to allow Pih-

Kwei, the governor, to exercise the functions of the departed viceroy Yeh, so far as was approved by the allied Commanders. Three allied Commissioners were appointed to look into the working of the government, and to investigate all questions between Chinese and foreigners; whilst the purely Chinese questions were to be settled, as heretofore, by the native magistrates. A police force of the three nations was appointed for duty in the city; and the residence of the Tartar general appropriated for the quarters of the allied commission, he in his turn ousting the second in command to make room for himself. Brigadier Holloway, R.M., Captain Martinieau des Chenez, of the French navy, and Mr. Parkes were the Commissioners appointed.

On the 10th February the blockade was raised, and the city gates opened for traffic. The war tax was remitted, on the consideration that the city, being now in the occupation of the allies, no expense need be incurred by the Chinese government on account of its protection. The trade soon became brisk, the importation and manufacture of munitions of war being the sole prohibitions.

For some days the force had enough to do in getting shaken down into their quarters, and arranging for an occupation which might last some time. The idols were bundled out of the temples, having previously had their backs picked. Some exploring soldiers, in closely examining these images, found that most of them had a little trap-door in their backs, through which small pieces of silver had been inserted into their bodies. The intelligence rapidly spread, and the gods were soon deposed. When in difficulties, they did not receive the respect of their former worshippers. I saw a big clay joss, which had been tumbled out of our temple,

having the guilt scraped off his back by a quondam devotee.


There were outside the walls of Canton five forts, of which two looked into our position, and in the hands of the enemy would prove a constant annoyance. It would have been the right thing, in a military point of view, to occupy one or two of these as outposts; but as our force was considered too small to cut up into detachments, it was resolved to blow them up. Their demolition was completed on 25th January. An officer of Engineers, on his return from visiting a working party engaged in preparing for the blowing up of Fort Lin, was one day mobbed, hooted at, and pelted, as he passed through a village. However, he showed a bold front, drew his sword, and made a rush as if to chastise his assailants, and they turned and fled incontinently. Wisely refraining from following them up too far, he made the best of his way inside the gates.

This having been reported, a small force was sent out on the next day to chastise the delinquents. Soldiers were posted all round to prevent escape, a gun was unlimbered in a threatening position in the village square, and a search was instituted for the head man of the village—a creation of that system of the scale of responsibility which I believe alone enables so enormous a country to be governed as it is. Failing to find the veritable head man, who probably had made off on the first scent of alarm, the twelve most respectable-looking and oldest inhabitants were selected, fastened to one another by the pigtails, and conducted before Mr. Parkes for admonition. On arriving, the front man prostrated himself precipitately, which nearly wrenched out by the root the tail of the man behind him, and who was compelled to succumb to the tug.

In his turn he likewise pulled down the next, and so, like successive ninepins, they were all at the feet of their captors. After a considerable lecture, they were told to rise, which they did rather more carefully, and were marched into the town, where, after a short detention, and another lecture as to social obligations, they were set at liberty.

In the explorations made in the city, the different military storehouses were discovered, and such a mass of rubbish as they contained it would be hard to imagine. There were some good matchlocks, and much fair clothing; but such a collection of old muskets, spears, bows, arrows, jingalls, &c., as defies description. They had a sort of breech-loading jingall, apparently of antique construction; the upper half, about a foot in length, of the breech-end of the barrel was cut off horizontally, leaving the lower half in section like a boat. Into this slit, a breech-piece, loaded and primed, could be dropped; its handle, when turned half round, fitted into a notch in the side of the boat-like piece, which keyed it in as the veritable breech of the gun. After it was fired off, the handle was turned back, the false breech removed, and another put in. A number of these were of course kept loaded, and supplied in succession.

They had also infernal machines, intended for the destruction of our fleet. One description was a mere tub, with false bottom, capable of containing a charge of powder at the base, and other combustibles above. One of these, which exploded close to one of our ships in the river, was charged with some filthy mess, which was blown up all over the rigging. These were made to go off by an arrangement whereby, on the tub receiving a blow, a glass tube, probably containing



sulphuric acid, would be broken, and an explosion occasioned from the contact of the acid with chlorate of potash or some such substance. This was the system adopted by the Russians in the powder-boxes concealed in front of their works before Sebastopol. Another was fired by clockwork : it could be set so as to discharge a flint lock into the powder at any given minute. In a third, flint locks were held cocked by a bar of wood attached to a leathern bellows, screwed down on to the bottom of the box : the bellows, when inflated, would rise, and the hammers be released. As there was a pipe leading up from the centre of the bellows to the lid of the box, it is probable that it was meant to be moored in a ship's path : when the vessel passed over it, it would become submerged ; the water would rush down the pipe, inflate the bellows, release the hammers, and cause the explosion. There were many of these things. I remember, of one description there were forty-eight.

The arms were all taken into our custody, to be returned to the governor on our departure from the city. He was warned that any which might be found, after due notice for their surrender had been given, would be confiscated.

Of course, in suddenly arresting the whole trade of a large city, and throwing thousands of people out of employment, besides the inevitable destruction of an enormous amount of property, great personal distress must be caused. The state of the poor in Canton was very sad. Crowds of emaciated and half-starved wretches thronged round our cantonments, and presented, in the most distressing way, evidence of the dreadful ravages of war. Here were people, quiet and peaceable, desiring to harm no one, disposed to

look with kindly eyes on all who contributed in the slightest degree to their trade and welfare, and I believe willing to hold entirely friendly relations with us, plunged into the deepest misery and degradation by the acts of their rulers, who, after endeavouring to poison their minds, by telling lying legends of the wicked and untameable barbarian, brought their misery to a climax by forcing us to the extremity of seizing the city : a wanton act of recklessness on their part, which even the arrogance and stupid pride of Yeh could hardly have disposed him to consider as a feat of arms impracticable to us, though for sixteen years he had, by evasion and stratagem, succeeded in preventing our peaceable entry.

I judged of the feelings of the common people towards us by a test which I think was fair. Of course, on first showing ourselves in a portion of the city where we were rare beasts, the women and children fled in terror ; but when they got a little more accustomed to us, they did not show the same alarm. It was said by some amongst us, "The treacherous people are only withheld from killing us by fear ; they fawn upon us now that we are strong, but hate us in their hearts." Now I believed *that* of the officials who had all their lives travelled along the groove of intolerant and prejudiced exclusiveness, but not of the country people. My test was the behaviour of the little children, old enough to understand their parents' conversation, but too young to be such adepts in dissimulation, or to have such power of self-command as to exhibit towards us the utmost confidence : little children would let me take them out of their fathers' arms, as I rode down the street, and enjoyed a ride with me as much as if I had been their best friend. Now, could we have been

stigmatized in those families as barbarians, savage and intractable, unsurpassed in ferocity, or even as a horde of invaders, who, in order to conquer their country, or trade with them against their will, had destroyed a great portion of their city, turned out on the world houseless many unoffending citizens — killing their countrymen, and in reality the main cause of all the trouble and sorrow which of late years had fallen upon them? That would have been a character such as they might be expected to give us; but it would have made the children rather distrustful, had their parents so spoken of us. Yet it was through this very populace, whom Yeh had stirred up and made his tools, that he had so long maintained the exclusiveness of the city. These people who now behaved in so friendly a way towards us, would a few weeks before have pelted and hooted any foreigner who might even pass near the walls: such is the influence exercised by the mandarins over the public feeling.

The readiest means of alleviating the distress among the poor was by establishing a soup kitchen, so as to save them from actual starvation before our eyes. Our chaplain broached the subject in his sermon one Sunday, and subscriptions of money poured in rapidly, as well as contributions of rice. I remember the Parsees sent up a very large quantity. A building was fitted up for the purpose, with many boilers, a long counter, and a great number of basins and chop-sticks; there were some seats provided for the infirm, but the others sat on the floor. The soup was what they call congee rice; I believe not much more than rice boiled in water, flavoured with ginger, and perhaps some other spice. It does not sound a very exhilarating diet, but they liked it; and were probably not accustomed to any-

thing very much better. With regard to invitations to the feast, bits of bamboo were provided, sealed with the chaplain's seal, and bearing somewhat the following inscription, "Come to such a temple at noon to-morrow, and you shall have a meal of rice." These were distributed by volunteers, among the wretched and starving; the blind, of whom there were great numbers in the city, were admitted free of tickets. I am sorry I kept no account of the number fed; I only see in my journal that one day there were 220, and on another occasion I find that a brother officer and myself distributed 200 tickets in one day. So great was the press at one time that we were obliged to take refuge in a temple, where, the gates being shut, we dealt out the invitations through the bars.

Of course the people soon became acquainted with the nature of these tickets; but when they were first introduced I found that in distributing them it was very rare to meet with a person who was unable to decipher what was written on them. The men seemed very generally able to read: this, however, was not so much the case with the female portion of the population. I one day asked a young woman who was navigating my sampan (native boat), for the interpretation of an inscription on a house near the bank. Her excuse, which she evidently considered all-sufficient, was, "Me girlie, how can?" I often used to peep into the village and district schools, and see one of the pupils standing out, repeating the lesson in a sing-song voice, the others all chanting after him, in a manner that would excite the respect of our school inspectors.

The boats at Canton are a most wonderful feature in the place. There is an enormous population, truly floating; born and bred on the river, many of whom I

might almost say never set foot on dry ground. Most of them are managed by women, the wives and daughters of the coolies, who work all day in the town, and sleep at night in their craft. Literally many of these women are scarcely able to walk like other people, so completely is their life spent on board their boats : from infancy, when, strapped on their mothers' backs, they are rocked to sleep by her see-saw motion as she plies the scull ; through childhood, when they scramble about, provided with floats tied to their backs to buoy them up in the event of a tumble overboard ; through girlhood, when, with their pretty, lady-like manners, they entertain the passengers, and do the honours of their boat, chatting away as they row ; till as mothers, and at last as wrinkled granddames, they in their turn nurse and rock to sleep new generations of coolies and pretty boat-girls.

Boats of all sizes are moored alongside, or float up and down the shores of this great city, thronging the stream on each side, in a degree of crowdedness compared to which Fleet Street would be desolation. For here, not only the passengers, but all the shops are moving. Every trade has its representative boats ; there are floating cook-shops and eating-houses, sellers of fish, pottery, fruit, vegetables, firewood, charcoal, rice, brooms, ironmongery ; in fact, every want of these amphibious creatures is supplied from boats plying¹² on the river. Their Blackwall and Greenwich dining-rooms are moored in fashionable quarters of the stream, and here the wealthy dine in a sumptuous manner, and beguile the hours of the summer evening, reclining on couches, where they inhale their beloved opium, carefully prepared for each successive whiff by tender hands ; whilst before their dreamy eyes float visions of

houris in the mazy dance, stepping to the measure of a very rude guitar, and love songs pitched in the shrillest falsetto of an untuned voice.

This style of singing I heard everywhere. On no single part of the coast, from north to south, did I ever hear a man sing from his lungs; it was invariably the head voice or falsetto, and very absurd it was to see a great big man emit such sounds out of his body. A brother officer of mine once had a musical servant, and he found this taste a dreadful nuisance. As he did not want to seem hardhearted in preventing his singing, he used sometimes, when he was tuning up rather too strongly, to call for him, and tell him that he remarked whenever he began to play his guitar the cats began to scream, and begged him when he wished to have a little music, to commence by shutting up the cat. This story leaked out somehow among his fellow-servants, and I am afraid he got rather put out of conceit with his voice.

The occupation of hunting about the town, ransacking the shops for "curios" proved great fun, and the natives soon got confidence in us: a considerable number of tradesmen were found masters of pigeon English, so that our leading wants were soon supplied. The best street for shops was that running due east and west, between the city gates on those sides of the town; this was the "Street of Benevolence and Love." Many were the hard bargains driven therein.

Coming up from a shopping excursion one day, we saw a man on the top of a house belabouring a gong in a frantic manner; and having stopped a minute to endeavour to find out the cause, soon perceived that his house was on fire, and that was his way of spreading the alarm. As we were near home, we ran off as

quickly as we could, and got together some sappers, with implements, whom we took down to the spot. Almost at the same instant, up came the Chinese fire-brigade. They had a very fair engine, but rather too small. The men who directed the hose got on the roofs; others made holes through which the water was to be poured. But the arrangement which struck me as the best, was a staff of men whose sole business appeared to be to attend to the hose, which they held up in the air over every one's head on bamboos, to protect it from injury; and the way they hoisted it up, and hooked it about, and helped it round corners and over houses, was really worth seeing. The fire was got under without much difficulty.

There are scattered all over the city, bamboo watch-towers, rising high above the surrounding houses; and from these elevated perches the police look over the town, and spread the alarm. Of course, it is of the greatest use to have a place from which the exact whereabouts of a fire can be ascertained. The town is divided and subdivided into sections, which after a certain hour in the evening are cut off from one another by locked gates, at which watchmen are stationed, who beat on the tom-tom from time to time, the beats varying with the different watches, so that a person waking in the night can, by listening to the tom-tom, know what hour it is; or at least fix the time between certain limits. It is easy to imagine what an immense assistance this subdivision gives in the government of the city; every disturbance or robbery is localized at once; whatever the quarter in which it began, there it must end. The head man of that quarter is held responsible; and in order to clear himself, he works diligently to settle it on to a certain street: the head man of the

street having then to bear the brunt, turns himself round, inquires in every house; and at last the ring-leaders are discovered and punished. The onus of being liable to have the responsibility of a large district of a city laid on one's shoulders would scarcely be bearable, were not the facilities for its transfer equally great.

I remember an instance, when a quantity of timber was stolen out of a temple which was being fitted up as a barrack. No clue whatever could be found to point out the thieves, but they were tracked as having got over a wall into a certain street. That street was immediately made responsible, and the residents, not being able to prove that the timber ever went out of it, paid the estimated value of what had been stolen.

We had a difficulty at first in getting servants. It was desirable that the number of soldiers taken from the ranks for such purposes should be as small as possible, and on leaving Hong Kong it was not easy to get a sufficient number of Chinese. Nor did we exactly like, at first, the idea of taking Cantonese into our service. I rather think that at one time it was forbidden in a general order. After the exploit of Mr. Alum, the baker (what a splendid name for the rascal!), who poisoned the whole of the bread in Hong Kong one morning, we felt rather shy of taking a Cantonese into service. However, I determined to try one. I was with L——, a brother officer, one day in the joss-house, which we called the bell pagoda, from its having a huge bell at the top of the highest part of the building, with a great piece of the lip cut out by a round shot; when we were accosted by a very respectable-looking old man, who began by informing us he was a "linguist." I suppose there may be linguists of all degrees, his own claim to the title consisted in his being a pro-

ficient in pigeon English. Probably almost every one knows that pigeon English is the sort of jargon in which English and Chinese interchange ideas. I believe the word "pigeon" is originally derived from business, which a Chinese would turn into "pidgeness," "pidgeons," "pigeon." And as all matters in China treated of between foreigners and Chinese are of a business nature, so they are all pigeon, and the language made use of in conducting all business is the pigeon language. I always thought it so curious a coincidence that the recesses in the desk or writing-table of a man of business should be his pigeon-holes.

I have heard a Chinaman from Singapore speak such perfect English, both in choice of words and in accent, that I cannot see why the people generally should not learn to speak properly; but they certainly do pick up the "pigeon" with wonderful facility, and I have heard that the construction of the pigeon sentences is more according to their own idiom; but not being myself a "linguist," I can venture no opinion as to the fact. However, I certainly never could get a Chinaman to say horse or catch, it was always horsee, catchee; the r was also invariably turned into an l. A man was always one piecey man. The terms man, horse, house, &c., are general terms, each implying a class; and when you wish to imply an individual of the class, the word piecey must be introduced.

Our friend the linguist did the honours of the temple to us, including Buddha's footprint, which is a hollow about six or seven feet long, in shape something like a man's foot, impressed in a mass of rock, which appears to crop out of the ground, from what I suppose must be an alluvial deposit. The stone is below the level of the made-up terraces, and is surrounded by a wall. It

looks like a dried-up gold-fish pond. In this temple were the stone rams which give to Canton the name of the City of Rams. I believe they flew down from heaven at some remote period. One stone was very curly at one end, and really a part of it was a good deal like a ram's head with horns. Our linguist also introduced us to the Ceres of the establishment, who was represented as holding ears of corn in her hand, and who, he said, was much chin-chinned in the summer to grant plenty of *lice* (*rice*). He also pointed out to us, from an upper window, a residence with a yellow roof, which distinction, he told us, had been granted to its owner as a special mark of imperial favour. This man's talents he comprehensively summed up by raising his eyes, looking all round him, extending his arms, and in an imposing voice stating that he knew *all* pigeon. So great an influence did this give him in the imperial court, that, as our friend assured us in a mysterious whisper, "he can chin-chin Emperor all the same he" —meaning thereby, we supposed, that he was permitted to exchange salutations with his majesty on terms as near to equality as could be permitted to a subject.

Finding what a well-informed man we had to deal with, I began to sound him with regard to a servant. "You savey that boy?" meaning the class of servant. Of course he did. "My want one piecey boy number one good." He thought he knew one, a poor boy, the son of worthy parents. "You think he truly good; he no makey that lallylung (thief) pigeon: he no makey lob that watch, that dollar." Oh dear no, the boy was honesty itself. "Well, then," I continued, "you can *secure* this number one boy makey all ploper pigeon. Suppose he makey lun away and steal, you makey good to my all that dollar, all that watch?" This he agreed

to do ; and other preliminaries having been settled, it was arranged that I should call for him on the following day, which I did. I also bought him a bed and some clothes, and installed Ahong as my valet.

A week had barely elapsed when suddenly Ahong disappeared, as did also a silver watch, a ring, five dollars, and an embroidered regimental waistcoat. Of course search was made for the linguist who had secured the boy, or made himself surety for him ; but he had just gone into the country to stay with a friend. Quite two months afterwards, L——, who had been with me at the time of the engagement, was walking at Honam, a suburb of Canton, on the opposite side of the river to that on which the city is built, when he fortunately recognized our linguist as the flourishing proprietor of a large shop of foreign manufactures. L—— immediately accosted him, acquainted him with the flight of Ahong, specified the depredations he had committed, and threatened to carry him off instantly to prison. He begged and prayed for time only. He fully acknowledged his liability, which was a relief to L——, who did not feel quite sure of his position, and said he had influence over the family, and that he trusted to be able to recover the articles ; and he promised faithfully to restore all the property, or pay the value at the end of the moon. I went over myself and tried to insinuate a clause into the agreement that Ahong should be surrendered, “to makey flog he, and cuttey he tail”—the cutting of the pigtail being a usual punishment for theft. I failed in my cruel intentions, and was obliged to content myself with the restitution of my property. At the appointed time we went over to Honam, and without a moment's delay my watch was handed me, my ring also, and “how

muchee dollar?" said he, with his hand on the till. The five were handed out, but he assured me the boy had never taken the waistcoat. This might have been the case, as it was probably less likely to tempt him than the watch and ring, and would have been less worth retaining. Now was the linguist an accomplice to the robbery? I have never yet been able to make up my mind.

On the 5th of February there was a report that Chinese in the city were arming themselves, and all the troops on the heights were ordered to get under arms immediately, so as to be ready to march down and support Colonel Holloway in the Commissioners' Yamun. By two P.M. the movement was in some way explained, and the men were dismissed. It was clear that the order for the surrender of the arms had been partially shirked. And, indeed, when on the roof of a Tartar house, looking on at the fire a few days before, I fell half through the tiles, and saw through the hole I had made, a quantity of arrows, which I duly reported.

On the 6th February, the 70th Bengal Native Infantry arrived—one of the few regiments which had escaped mutiny and disbandment. It was one which had formerly much distinguished itself, and the men all appeared to vie with each other in smartness and military appearance when on duty. The guard was never tired of turning out, and would, on the slightest encouragement, pay that high military compliment to any one. It was strange to think how men like these, who had risked their lives, and received wounds in our service, should be able to turn, and perpetrate acts of treachery and cruelty such as one would hardly expect from the most oppressed, ill-treated, and revengeful.

Yet, in some instances, in the accounts of the outbreak of the mutiny, we find traces of remaining esteem and friendliness; faithful servants and Sepoys who tried to put out of the way, those whom they wished to save. Some native officers of the 67th—another of the saved regiments which had been disarmed in time, and which later came also to Canton—told the European officers how thankful they were to have been saved from the misery and disgrace of their brethren in arms. Yet, at the same time, they confessed that if *it*—whatever “it” might be, the influence, the frenzy, the evil spirit—that if it had come among them, they must as surely as their companions have run the same race of mutiny and murder, terminating only in such a liberty as can be enjoyed by the hunted outcast; in which condition they must, but for the Queen’s gracious proclamation, have remained.

The 70th, on the day after their arrival, got into an unfortunate fracas with the French. There was an order that the houses, even if deserted, were not to be plundered, and the guards were cautioned accordingly. These poor Sepoys, doubtless feeling very cold, and perhaps with a scanty allowance of firewood, made their way in the evening into some old ruined houses in search of fuel, where, being discovered by the French police, they were fired on. One man was killed and two others wounded, one of whom died the next day. An inquiry took place, with what result I know not; but I think, making every allowance for military discipline and martial law, that the question of a few logs of wood might have been settled without the sacrifice of two human lives.

CHAPTER II.

Pic-nic at Mong-Kong—We fall among braves—Amusements within the walls, theatricals and horses—The Tartar general and the Irishman—Our magazine in danger—Salutes—Bamboo workers—Maternal affection and desertion—Foundling hospitals—Chinese beggars, and death *en règle*—The poor law as administered in Canton.

ON the 20th February a pic-nic party went out to see a little of the country and of the people; and as we did not know what sort of reception we should meet with, we made rather a strong muster. There were nine officers and twenty-four men, with a couple of ponies to carry the luncheon. We started before seven o'clock, going out through the north-east gate of the city. It was a lovely morning, and most thoroughly did we enjoy ourselves in climbing the hills, and inhaling the fresh breezes, after all the smells and thick damp atmosphere of Canton. Some of the views were charming. A striking and pleasing feature in the scenery of this part of China is the position of the villages, which, situated on plains cultivated in the minutest manner—if such an expression can be used—are surrounded by luxuriant hedges of the graceful feathery bamboo. Now there is always a reason for everything, and there is for this. Long experience has taught the Chinese that the least healthy site for a dwelling is the side of a hill. Mind I am speaking of a hill in a country where the low ground is almost constantly under water, and exposed to the rays of a powerful sun. For such

is the condition (necessitated by climate and for the growth of rice) of a great part of the south of China. They will cultivate the hills as long as they can irrigate them, and if they are too dry they will use them as burial-places, but live on them never. They invariably settle down in the middle of their rice-grounds, but as invariably surround their villages by thick, and sometimes impervious groves of bamboo ; or in the case of a town, by a wall higher than the tops of the houses inside. The insidious miasma will roll and wreath itself up the hill-sides ; but I think I am right in saying it will never descend again after topping the wall, nor will it penetrate the bamboo shield raised to ward off its approach. I think I should be supported by our medical officers, when I say that in winter, when the country was dry, the troops quartered on the top of Magazine Hill, in Canton, were healthy ; but in the summer, when the water was out over the paddy-fields, those quartered in the centre of the town had the best of it. Look again at our occupation of Chusan in the old China war, with the lamentable loss of life which occurred there. It is true, I believe, that the salt meat brought from Calcutta, and which, for want of fresh supplies, they were forced to eat, was bad ; but men were encamped on the heights, and I attribute much of the sickness to that cause. I went to Chusan before its occupation in 1860, and looked at those heights, and in the broad sunlight very pleasant places they appeared ; but wait till evening, when the enemy is visible, and watch the insidious white vapour rising and spreading, and dealing out fever and ague by the hospital-full.

But setting aside the hygienic part of the question, these nestling villages form a very pleasing feature in

the landscape. The people all look busy and contented. In one village there was a good deal of gong-beating on our approach, which we did not know what to make of; but a man came out and asked us to take tea; so we concluded that their intentions were not otherwise than peaceable. We purposely avoided going through the villages for fear of giving an alarm and getting ourselves into a scrape.

After walking for about three hours, we rested in a very pretty spot under some fine trees, and one of the party shot a woodcock, which was hailed as a great event; and we determined to devote some little attention to so good a cause. We did not wish to return by the same road by which we had come out. The valley in which we were, we knew to be divided from the great north plain, by the White Cloud Mountains, a range familiar to our eyes from Canton. We hoped to reach that plain by some pass through the hills, and so return to Canton by way of the North gate.

Soon after moving on, we came to a rivulet, the course of which assured us our problem was solved; there must be a pass through the mountains. We followed the stream, and emerged on the great plain. Our spirits rose, and we walked on, admiring the peacefulness and tranquillity of everything, and the hospitality of the poor industrious countrymen. We concluded that we might with ease and comfort walk to Peking. Some quail fell to some of our sportsmen's guns, and some distant trees gave promise of the nobler woodcock. On nearing this wood, we found that it formed the background to a large village, but we saw a path leading round outside, which we resolved to follow. We were considerably astonished by several villagers coming forward gesticulating, and, as we after-

wards supposed, entreating us not to go on. We could not at the time quite make out what they meant, but supposed that they did not wish us to pass through the village. So on we went by the outer path, and entered a grove of tall pine-trees. We were instantly saluted by such a din of gongs, and clamour of voices as I never heard—as if we had upset a hive of people. Individual Chinese soldiers displayed themselves, beating two swords together, and capering about, as if to challenge us to single combat. We caught one man, and tried, through our interpreter, to explain that we were only out for a walk.


It was manifest enough that the scrape we had been endeavouring to avoid, we had at last fallen into, and in a more unpleasant form than we anticipated; in fact, that we had stumbled on the enemy's camp. The hum of voices sounded as if upwards of a thousand people were in movement. Our first step was to load, and our next to get back into the open plain, where we could not be surrounded without seeing our assailants. Whilst we were loading, bang came a great jingall shot right among us, fortunately hitting no one. Another shot or two were fired which were not very well aimed, and we got on to the plain.

Of course our danger was that we should be cut off from Canton, whence we were distant, as the crow flies, about six miles. But, unfortunately, it was not visible from where we were, and of course we only had an idea of about where it ought to be. We saw from the plain that there was a succession of villages in the direction of the city, and we feared the alarm would spread, and that we should be headed by these villagers turning out in front of us, whilst our original attackers were in our rear. There was no time to be lost, so we

skirted along the base of the White Cloud Mountains, for then we knew we had only one flank to watch. In case of being hard pushed, we could get up and make a stand, and the struggle might be seen from the city walls, and relief be sent to us.

The fellows came out after us with their flags and their jingalls, running along at our side, and following in our rear, and banging away with really wonderfully bad luck : they never could hit any one even by chance. Meanwhile we posted on as fast as we could, firing a shot every now and then, and when they came too near, sometimes making a little charge towards them, when, of course, away they scampered. But time was everything to us, and we could not afford to chase them, for as we passed each village we saw armed men turning out, and flags hoisted on the mandarin poles. One or two of the marine artillerymen got knocked up from fatigue and had to be put on the ponies ; at last, after some five miles of this fun, on turning the corner of a hill, the pagodas of Canton rose before our eyes to our immense relief. Our pursuers evidently thought they had gone far enough and hauled off, and we sat down on the grass, and finished our cold chickens and beer, determined not to be done out of our pic-nic. We got in about five o'clock, after ten hours' enjoyment of rather mixed feelings.

Being shut up so much as we necessarily were, within the walls of Canton, it was difficult to find amusement for the men. However, the dramatic passion, which is strong in the soldier's heart, soon began to display itself. The first performance was given by the Engineers. Now, both the companies had come out overland, restricted to the very last degree as to baggage, and probably as lightly equipped as ever were troops sent



from England ; yet judge of the surprise of every one at seeing appear a drop scene, and an entire set of costumes — even a black velvet dress for Lady Douglas!—and very well was it all done. This was only the beginning of things, however ; the drama was afterwards in high repute, and carried on in great style in Canton.

The possession of a horse is one of the dearest objects of the British subaltern, and here the difficulties in the way of its fulfilment were very great. First, there were originally but very few ponies inside the city. There is no horse or wheeled traffic in this part of the country, every article being carried by Coolies. They are only used by the Tartar soldiers, and to swell the train of mandarins in procession. Of course the General and staff had first to be fitted out ; and then every beast that could be caught, was hunted out by the Commissioners of Police, who, backed by all the knowledge and power of Mr. Parkes, made the odds so dreadfully against the private aspirer to horsekeeping, as to require all the ingenuity and patience which could be brought to bear on the subject. It is the custom to give the horses in the city, grass cut on the banks, which is carried to the stables. How cunningly used these grass-cutters to be tracked, yet I have followed one at such a distance as to think it impossible that I had been remarked, and the man led me round and round, and in and out, to throw me off his track, and escaped me at last ! How quickly was a blade of grass, or bit of chopped straw in the street noticed and speculated on, and the very smallest traces of sweepings examined ! The buildings themselves were not much guide, for several of the horses found, were in dwelling-houses with the doors built up, access being obtained by some back way.

The yamuns, or halls where the grandees lived, were at first impudently searched, but on the owners complaining to the Commissioners, they were given a paper to show to all that it was forbidden to enter on any account, (*absolument défendu*). One Murphy, an officer, who had an official paper authorizing him to enter these sacred precincts, for purposes connected with surveying, came home one evening with really a capital pony, the best we had seen. On being questioned as to how he got it, he replied, "Oh! just from the Tartar gineral." He went on to relate, "So I saw the old gineral, and he says to me, 'Murphy, my boy,' says he; 'Sirr,' says I. 'Do you want a horrsse, now?' says he. 'Faith, and I do, sirr,' says I; 'Then come along into the stable with me,' says he." Whereupon it appears they entered the stable, and the fortunate Murphy had the pick of the stud. This was the best-looking pony, he said, but it had a plaster of some stuff on his back, according to the treatment of the Chinese veterinary surgeons, for sore back; but he had the curiosity to examine the place, and found the horse's back perfectly sound; I dare say this ruse had put the police off taking the beast. We never could get any other version of the story, nor did the hero appear ever to think there was anything at all strange in it.

The horsekeepers with whom we attempted to deal, would refuse altogether to sell their charges. I believe all the horses were in some degree government animals or belonged to government officials, and they were afraid to sell them; but as we were willing to take care of them, and return them on our departure, many procured them on those terms, giving the man who appeared to be the owner, or person in charge of the pony, a paper promising to return it ultimately, or pay

its value—perhaps some such sum as thirty dollars. Old Singchong, the contractor, who did great things for the force, procured me a little pony which I bought for eight dollars. I fear it must have been stolen.

Ultimately, we managed to get pretty well supplied; and grand were the race meetings, where contending jockeys, who had achieved great deeds on English and Indian courses, got such speed and power out of these little things as to be quite astonishing. The training was as careful, the trials as mysterious, and the betting as complicated as on the real Turf; and though the sums which changed hands were not great, yet the spirit of the gambler was there, and our mimic races rivalled in interest the great Derby and other sweeps got up on the principal English meetings.

Cricket also was, of course, one of the first sports we introduced; and the Tartar parade-ground at the foot of the heights formed really a very good ground. The civilians of Hong Kong used sometimes to come forth and play us at Canton, the matches being played alternately there and at Hong Kong; and right hospitably were our Eleven put up when they went down for the return game.

On the 1st of March a very great calamity was near befalling us. The greater part of our powder was in a brick magazine of Chinese construction, on the side of the city heights. A number of Chinese rockets and other odds and ends had, it appeared, been put into an adjacent building. On the morning in question, I was riding along the walls, and saw a column of smoke, caused by an explosion, rising, as I thought, from the great magazine. I galloped down towards it as fast as I could, and found there some artillerymen who had been attracted to the spot. The fire was raging in the

small building, the rockets hissing away, and sometimes popping out of the doors and windows. We got some large beams of wood, and battered away at the walls with such a will, that down they soon came; throwing up a cloud of dust and smoke, and stifling all the flames in the ruins. The fire was only thirty feet from the magazine, which was by no means bomb-proof: any heavy substance, projected by an explosion, might have fallen through the tiled roof, and blown us all up at any moment.

On the 3rd of March a reconnoitring party was sent out, under Lieut.-Colonel Clifford, to Mong Kong, which we learnt to be the name of the village where we had fallen among the braves; it was seen that there was still a force in the neighbourhood, but the party did not come into collision with them. I do not know exactly how old Pih-Kwei explained the proceedings of these people; but I believe he disclaimed all connection with them, saying that they were bands of men raised without any authority of his, and that he was very sorry such a state of affairs should exist, but that he was so peculiarly situated with regard to his government, that it was out of his power to adopt any adequate measure for the suppression of these irregularities.

He appears to have made good his case, for, on the 8th, he paid a visit of ceremony to the General. His arrival on the parade-ground was the signal for the commencement of a salute from the field artillery drawn up and pointed right at him, and it must have looked as if his death were intended rather than his honour. Salutes are common indeed among themselves, but the pieces used are like toy cannon stuck up on end; on the arrival of a mandarin, a member of the grand of the

mandarin visited, rushes out with a bit of lighted joss-stick or a coal in a pair of tongs, and lets off three of these little guns, so that our practice of pointing the real guns at the honoured guest is a much more nervous affair altogether. The Chinese are always prompt with their salutes, as the mandarin before paying visits sends on a runner with his cards, which are long strips of red paper on which his titles are enumerated, so that the recipient of the visit is able to make his little arrangements for the interview, which is generally conducted with much ceremony. How universal seems to be the practice of discharging fire-arms as a sign of rejoicing! it is observed not only among civilized nations, but also among the native Indians, the Moors, and the Turks; and I believe it to be so all over the world. As the Chinese were the first to make gunpowder, I wonder whether they were the first to fire salutes?

We were having very disagreeable weather about this time—wet, and muggy, and close. All boots not actually in wear were covered with mildew, and the leather soon became quite rotten. Workmen were employed continually in repairing old roofs, and ventilating old houses. The Sappers were found too heavy to get on the tiles; they broke more than they mended: so a number of Chinese artificers were employed by the Engineers, who scrambled about like cats. Many of the old roofs were found quite hopeless, so new ones of bamboo were constructed above. This bamboo leaf, as we called it (not that it is really a bamboo, but some sort of palmetto), makes a capital weather-tight covering: the leaves are fastened, overlapping one another, and made up into pieces, some six or seven feet long, and perhaps two feet deep; these are tied on to a framework of bamboo, and the whole makes a very

efficient roof. It is generally the custom before building a house to erect a huge shed of this kind over the site, under the shelter of which the work can be carried on in all weathers, and the house completely finished before the covering is removed. The professed bamboo-workers are exceedingly ingenious, and make works of great strength in an incredibly short space of time. Their scaffolding is very clever. The watch-towers planted about the streets form good examples of their framework in bamboo. I remember we wanted a verandah made to our mess-room: it was a difficult thing rather to explain; but when the man was told to "make one piecey makey walkey topside, makey look see," he completely understood the case. I like that topside and bottomside; why should the terms not be as generally used as inside and outside? To "look see" is, of course, much more than to look; perhaps what an American would call to prospect.

Though beleaguered at a distance by these Mong Kongites, and by rumoured bands in other directions, we were still enabled to get out a little into the country, within a couple of miles or so of the walls. I was so fortunate as to have an employment surveying, which gave me a still wider range; and, escorted by a guard of some half dozen men, I was allowed to go out *à discrétion*, and very pleasant it was to get free of the impurities and close air of Canton, and climb the hills, and enjoy such breezes as those within the city rarely felt. I used to like going into the cottages sometimes, to visit or "chin chin" the country people, who invariably brought out tea: to take notice of the baby was the sure way to make yourself popular, and at the expense of patting its cheek, you might establish a great reputation in the village. They seem immensely

fond of their children, and proud of "the baby;" but I am afraid it is a love which, like many others, wanes with failing prosperity.

I found at different times, laid out on the ground, five little babies, two alive and crying, and stretching out their tiny arms; the other three death had released. In each case a bit of matting was laid over the child; whether to conceal it, or to give some little shelter, I don't know. I never now can bear to think of it. I could not do any good. I tried to get women in the neighbourhood to take them, but they would not: those who were in a condition to rear the little mites had their own wretched offspring to support; they declared they were starving themselves, and that their own children's supply was all but dried up, so how could they, even for any money, undertake the charge of another? All I could do was to have the poor thing carried back to the house whence it was said that it came, and where at least it might get sustenance, and threaten the people with dire punishment if it were put out again. But what its ultimate fate was, who can tell? I cannot, and I never should have the courage to ask.

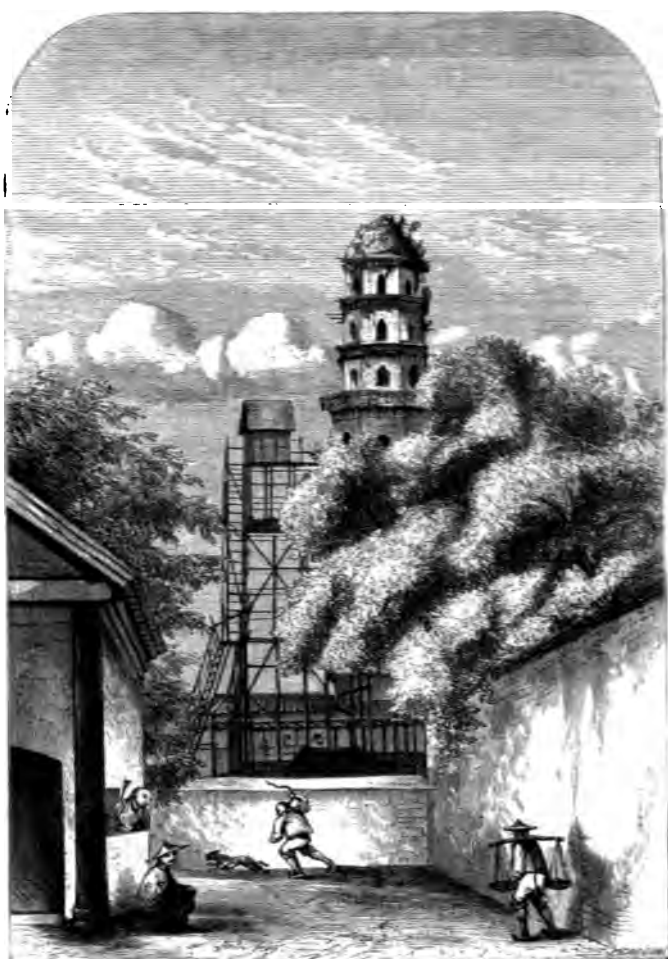
The Chinese government makes some sort of provision to meet these cases, by having foundling hospitals, and I learnt later that there was one of these near Canton. On examination, it was found to be in a dreadful state, the living and dead children lying huddled together in heaps. It was promptly put in order, and a certain proportion of the revenue of the city set apart for its expenses, and for a staff of nurses. I do not know how the Chinese government manages to discourage the abandonment of children, or if natural affection alone is sufficient to keep the number of foundlings within reasonable bounds.

Another sad story I shall tell, and one which makes me half afraid to refuse a beggar. I was one day engaged in a duty in the eastern suburb, and a wretched man came importuning me for charity. "Cumshaw, taipan!" or, "Charity, my lord!" he kept repeating. I was busy, and annoyed by him, and somewhat gruffly I told him to "whilo," or "be off." I went on with my work, and in about half an hour, having finished, I remembered the man, and went to look for him. I saw him lying on a bank of turf, and went up to him, but he was dead. If a selfish feeling can be a satisfactory one, which it ought not to be, it would be a satisfaction to think that nothing I could have done for the poor man could have much prolonged his life.

A great many beggars die in Canton: I do not mean to assert a mere truism, but actually die out in the open air: a good many in the public streets; but there is a court-yard in the western suburb which appeared set apart for this express purpose, and there several beggars may be seen who have begged their last, and lie down, true, order-loving, citizen-like Chinamen, to die in the spot appointed for those mysteries.

With the poor-law, which we were told exists in Canton, I wonder how any one can ever die simply of starvation. Any man may go about with a couple of bits of bamboo, and enter a shop, and bang his bamboos together until he is given money to go out; but for the smallest coin (the tenth part of a halfpenny), he is bound to go away, and is free to inflict his music elsewhere. Now what can be better? The poor-rate is voluntary, nay, even self-imposed; no one is forced to contribute to support these vagrants, and yet all do. No one who has strength to crawl from house to house,

and clatter his bamboos, need ever starve ; at the same time the smallness of the coin given is not sufficient to make it worth while for idle persons to trust solely to such a subsistence, if other means can be got. I think of it, oh ye boards of guardians, and imagine parishes where the relieving officer is not known, poor rates are a relic of barbarous ages, and the householders voluntarily keep the whole of the destitute, and no one is on the parish !



NINE-STORYED PAGODA, AND POLICE WATCH-TOWER, CANTON. [To face page 38.

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CHAPTER III.

Translation of some documents found among Yeh's archives.

BEFORE proceeding farther with the narrative, I shall here allude to some of the documents found in Yeh's palace.

In the first instance, the originals of the Treaties of China with Great Britain, France, and the United States were found. This fact showed that, in treating Yeh as the authorised exponent of the emperor's views in treaty questions, we were acting in conformity with the feelings of the Chinese government.

The following amusing memorial by Ki-ying, detailing the receptions of the barbarian envoys of different nations, was found in a wrapper of several folds, and sealed with the imperial commissioner's seal of the reign of Tau-kwang, which style ceased to be used at the end of the year 1850. It contains the autograph approval of his majesty the emperor :—

(Translation.)

THE slave Ki-ying, upon his knees, presents a supplementary memorial to the throne.

The particulars of his administration of the business of the barbarian states and management¹ of barbarian envoys, according to circumstances, in his receptions of them,² have formed the subject of different memorials from your slave.

¹ *Lit.*, riding and reining.

² Receptions of them as inferiors in rank.

The supplementary conditions of trade having been also negotiated by him, he has had the honour to submit the articles containing these to the sacred glance of your Majesty, who has commissioned the Board (of Revenue) to examine and report upon them; all which is upon record.

He calls to mind, however, that it was in the 7th moon of the 22nd year (August 1842), that the English barbarians were pacified. The Americans and French have successively followed in the summer and autumn of this year (1844).

In this period of three years, barbarian matters have been affected by many conditions of change; and, in proportion as these have been various in character, has it become necessary to shift ground, and to adopt alterations in the means by which they were to be conciliated and held within range.¹ They must be dealt with justly, of course, and their feelings thus appealed to; but, to keep them in hand, stratagem (or diplomacy) is requisite.

In some instances a direction must be given them, but without explanation of the reason why. In some, their restlessness can only be neutralized by demonstrations which disarm (*lit.*, dissolve) their suspicions. In some they have to be pleased and moved to gratitude, by concession of intercourse, on a footing of equality; and, in some, before a result can be brought about, their falsity has to be blinked; nor must an estimate (of their facts) be pressed too far.

Bred and born in the foreign regions beyond (its boundary), there is much in the administration of the celestial dynasty that is not perfectly comprehensible to the barbarians; and they are continually putting forced constructions on things of which it is difficult to explain to them the real nature. Thus the promulgation of the imperial decrees (*lit.*, silken sounds) devolves on the members of the great council; but the barbarians respect them as being the autograph reply of your Majesty; and were they given to understand positively that (the decrees) are not in the handwriting of your Majesty at all (so far from respecting them) there would, on the contrary, be nothing in which their confidence would be secure.

¹ Conciliated, *lit.*, pacified, as a person, or an animal, that is wild, and comforted; kept within range, *lit.*, tethered.

The meal which the barbarians eat together they call the *ta-tsan* (dinner).¹ It is a practice they delight in to assemble a number of people at a great entertainment, at which they eat and drink together. When your slave has conferred favour upon (has given a dinner to) the barbarians at the Bogue or Macao, their chiefs and leaders have come to the number of from ten to twenty or thirty; and when, in process of time, your slave has chanced to go to barbarian residences² or barbarian ships, they have, in their turn, seated themselves round in attendance upon him, striving who should be foremost in offering him meat and drink. To gain their goodwill he could not do otherwise than share their cup and spoon.

Another point, it is the wont of the barbarians to make much of their women. Whenever their visitor is a person of distinction, the wife is sure to come out to receive him.

In the case of the American barbarian Parker, and the French barbarian Sagréné, for instance, both of these have brought their foreign wives with them, and when your slave has gone to their barbarian residences on business, these foreign women have suddenly appeared and saluted him. Your slave was confounded³ and ill at ease, while they, on the contrary, were greatly delighted at the honour done them. The truth is, as this shows, that it is not possible to regulate the customs of the western states by the ceremonial of China; and to break out in rebuke, while it would do nothing towards their enlightenment (*lit.*, to cleave their dulness), might chance to give rise to suspicion and ill-feeling. Again, ever since amicable relations with them commenced, the different barbarians have been received on something of a footing of equality; once such intercourse is no longer a novelty, it becomes more than ever a duty to keep them off and to shut them out.

To this end, on every occasion that a treaty has been negotiated with a barbarian state, your slave has directed Kwang An-tung, the Commissioner of Finance, to desire its envoy to

¹ The word used by our Canton servants for dinner, the great meal.

² The word "*lau*," loft or story, is not that applied to the dwelling-houses of Chinese. The mandarins use it specially when speaking to their own people of our houses.

³ "Confounded," almost awe-stricken, as Confucius is described to have been in the presence of his ruler.

take notice that a high officer of China, administering foreign affairs, is never at liberty to give or receive anything on his private account; that as to presents, he would be obliged peremptorily to decline them; were they to be accepted and the fact concealed, the ordinances of the celestial dynasty on the subject are very stringent, and to say nothing of the injury he would inflict on the dignity of his office, it would be hard (for the offender) to escape the penalty of the law.

The barbarian envoys have had the sense to attend to this; but in their interviews with him, they have sometimes offered your slave foreign wine, perfumery, and other like matters, of very small value. Their intention being more or less good, he could not well have rejected them altogether and to their face, but he has confined himself to bestowing on them snuff-bottles, purses, and such things as are carried on the person; thereby putting in evidence the (Chinese) principle of giving much, although but little has been received.¹

Again, on the application of the Italians, English, Americans, and French, your slave has presented them with a copy of his insignificant portrait.

To come to their governments,² though every state has one, there are rulers, male or female, holding office permanently, or for the time being.

With the English barbarians, for instance, the ruler is a female; with the Americans and French, a male. The English and French ruler reigns for life: the American is elected by his countrymen, and is changed once in four years; and, when he retires from his throne, he takes rank with the people (the non-official classes).

Their official designations are also different in the case of each nation. (To represent these), for the most part, they appropriate (*lit.*, filch) Chinese characters, boastfully affecting a style to which they have no claim, and assuming the airs of a great power. That they should conceive that they thereby do honour to their rulers is no concern of ours, while, if the forms observed towards the dependencies (of China) were to be prescribed as the

¹ Thus, according to the second of the Confucian books, should it be between the ruler and the nobles dependent on him.

² *Lit.*, their sovereign seniors.

rule in their case, they would certainly not consent, as they neither accept (the Chinese) computation of time,¹ nor receive your Majesty's patent (of royalty) to fall back to the rank of Cochin China or Lewchew.² And with people so uncivilised as they are, blindly unintelligent in styles and modes of address, a tenacity of forms in official correspondence, such as would duly place the superior above and the inferior below, would be the cause of a fierce altercation (*lit.*, a rising of the tongue and a blistering of the lips); the only course in that case would be to affect to be deaf to it (*lit.*, to be as though the ear-loppest stopped the ear); personal intercourse would then become impossible, and not only this, but an incompatibility of relations would immediately follow, of anything but advantage, certainly, to the essential question of conciliation.³ Instead, therefore, of a contest about unsubstantial names which can produce no tangible result, (it has been held) better to disregard these minor details in order to the success of an important policy.

Such are the expedients and modifications which, after close attention to barbarian affairs, a calculation of the exigencies of the period, and a careful estimate of the merits of the question as being trivial or of importance, admitting of delay or demanding despatch, it has been found unavoidable to adopt.

Your slave has not ventured to intrude them one by one upon the sacred intelligence, partly because they were in themselves of small significance, partly because there was no time⁴ (so to report them). The barbarian business being now on the whole (*lit.*, in the rough) concluded, as in duty bound he states them detailedly, one and all, in this supplementary despatch, which he respectfully presents to your Majesty.

Reply in the vermilion pencil :—

“It was the only proper arrangement to have made. We understand the whole question.”

¹ *Lit.*, the first and last moons of the year as computed by China, who issues her calendar to Corea, if not to her other dependencies.

² The sovereigns of Corea, Lewchew, and Cochin China, are invested by a Chinese envoy, and receive a patent from the emperor as their suzerain.

³ As in note (1), page 39.

⁴ He had to act at once.

The following is another memorial, translated by Mr. Wade. The interview described between Lord Elgin and Baron Gros is amusing, as is also Yeh's idea of the Indian mutiny and Lord Elgin's despair :—

[The following is translated from a draft in the same hand as that in which several of Yeh's draft memorials are corrected, and which I have other reasons for believing to be his own manuscript. It is the most unshapely specimen of Chinese writing I have ever seen, and has given a very competent native scholar considerable trouble to decipher. It was evidently a first draft, with much left to be filled in and corrected, and must have been written but a few days before the receipt of the plenipotentiaries' ultimatum of the 12th December, 1857. We have no proof that it was sent to Peking, though such was probably the case.—T. F. W.]

(Translation.)

(YEH, &c.) presents a memorial to the effect, that the English barbarians, troubled at home, and pressed¹ with daily increasing urgency by other nations from without, will hardly attempt anything farther; that they are reported to have had several consultations upon the opening of trade, and earnestly desire the suggestion of some means to that end; that in consequence of the² English chief—not returned to Canton; a respectful memorial (of which particulars) he forwards by courier, at the rate of 600 li a day, and looking upward he solicits the sacred glance thereon.

On the 6th of the 9th moon (23rd October, 1857), your servant had the honour to forward to your Majesty various particulars of his administration of barbarian affairs during the 7th and 8th moons (August, September), as it is recorded.

Since the engagement of the 10th of the 5th moon (1st June), a period of more than six months, the English barbarians have

¹ He may mean, pressed by their solicitations, or for money. His Hong Kong correspondents, as their letters seized prove, had been representing us deeply indebted to Russia, and in great difficulty as to the means of satisfying her claims.

² The preamble generally epitomises the matter of the memorial. I take this part of it to be best explained by the last sentence of the memorial. There is evidently something to be filled up in the text.

made no disturbance up the Canton river. (It should be known,¹ however, that in the defeat sustained by Elgin at Mang-ga-ta,² in the 7th moon, he was pursued by the Manga-ga-la (Bengal) barbarian force to the sea-shore. A number of French men-of-war, which happened to be passing, fired several guns in succession, and the force of the Bengal barbarians falling back, the chief Elgin made his escape. The chief Elgin was very grateful to the French force for saving his life, and on the arrival of the French minister, Lo-so-lun,³ who, in the beginning of the 9th moon, had also reached Kwang-tung, he, the chief Elgin, fêted the chief Gros at Hong Kong (*lit.*, merrily feasted, and prayed him (to drink) wine), and consulted him upon the present position of affairs in China. The chief Gros said, "I was not an eye-witness of the commencement of last year's affairs, but the story current among the people of different nations, who were by at the time, has made me familiar with the whole question. You see⁴ when the forts were taken the Chinese government made no retaliation; when the houses of the people were burned, it still declined to fight. Now, the uniform suppression, three years ago, of the Kwang-tung insurrection, in which some hundreds of thousands were engaged, shows the military power of China to be by no means insignificant. Will she take no notice of her injuries? (No.) She is certain to have some deep policy which will enable her so to anticipate us, that, before we can take up any ground, she will have left us without the means of finding fault with her; while she, on the other hand, will oblige the foreigners to admit themselves completely in the wrong. On the last

¹ The affair of the 1st of June is the destruction of Hwang's fleet up Fatsan Creek, doubtless reported to Peking as a victory. The manner in which the next sentence is introduced shows that Lord Elgin's return had been already announced, but without full particulars.

² Mang-ga-ta is clearly a compromise between Mang-ga-la (Bengal) and Calcutta.

³ The French ambassador's name is elsewhere given as "Go-lo-so" (Gros); his title of "baron" is evidently taken to be his name, and is put, in Chinese fashion, after his surname; "lun" representing, doubtless, "pa-lun," for "ba-ron."

⁴ The Chinese expression here used is generally rendered, "for instance." Baron Gros is made to argue that he understands Yeh's policy, his opinion of which will be found at the end of the paragraph. We should have stated it at the beginning, and then have introduced the illustrations given.

occasion that your nation opened fire,¹ it was but for some days, and people came forward (as mediators); but this time you did your utmost for three months, (you fired) 4,000 rounds and more from great guns, as well as 3,000 rockets. The high authorities of Canton, it is plain, have long made their minds up (or have seen their way): they understand the character of all classes, high and low, in our foreign states. This is the reason why they have been so firm and unswerving. When I was leaving home the instructions my own sovereign gave me with affectionate² earnestness (were these):—There is a quarrel with the English in Kwang-tung. When you go thither confine yourself to observance of the treaty and pacific communications. You are not to avail yourself of the opportunity to commit acts of aggression or spoliation. Do not make China hate the French as a band of hostile wretches³ who violate their engagements. The circumstances, too, are so different (from those of the last war of the English with China), that it is essential you should judge⁴ for yourself what course to pursue. There is no analogy, I apprehend, between the present case and the opium question of some ten years since, in which they had some wrong to allege.”

It appears that in the country of the five Indies, appropriated by the English barbarians, they have established four tribal divisions; three along the coast, and one in the interior. One of the coast divisions is Man-ga-la (Bengal), the country in the extreme east; one is Ma-ta-la-sa (Madras), south-west of Bengal; and one is Mang-mai (Bombay), on the western limit of India. That in the interior is A-ka-la (Agra), lying midway between east and west. About the end of last summer, it is stated, twelve marts (or ports) in Bengal, which had revolted, were lost. Since the 8th moon the marts in Bombay have been all retaken (*i.e.*, from the English by (Indian) chiefs); and since Elgin's return, after his defeat, the leaders of the English barbarians have sustained a succession of serious defeats.

¹ This must be presumed to refer to Sir Hugh Gough's attack on Canton.

² The manner in which the Chinese mandarins address the people.

³ Low, or low-grade persons.

⁴ That is, you are not to accept the policy of England, or any other nation, on your

The Indian chiefs drove a mine from bank to bank of a river, and by the introduction of infernal machines (*lit.*, water-thunder) blew up seven large vessels of war, killing above 1,000 men. On shore they enticed (the English) far into the country, and murdered above 7,000 of them, killing a distinguished soldier named Puta-wei-ka-lut,¹ and many more.

Elgin passes day after day at Hong Kong, stamping his foot and sighing, and his anxiety is increased by the non-arrival of despatches from his Government.

The following translation of a report of a conversation between the emperor and an officer of the Kwang-tung provincial government is interesting. It shows the attention to business paid by the emperor; also the nature of the apprehensions excited by the spread of Christianity :—

[The following is translated from a memorandum forwarded to Yeh by a late judge of Kwang-tung, named Ki Shuh-tsau, of his conversation with the Emperor Hien Fung, at the audience granted him, according to custom, on his return to Peking at the end of his term of service.

In his "Chinese and their Rebellions," pages 123 to 136, Mr. Thomas Meadows gives a similar conversation between the late emperor and Pih-kwei, the present Governor of Kwang-tung, and then judge of the province. This took place in 1849, and it is remarkable that, towards the close of that audience, the late emperor asks Pih-kwei if he is acquainted with the newly-appointed judge, Ki Shuh-tsau, and volunteers a very favourable opinion of him as an honest and unaffected man.

A great deal of his correspondence with Yeh was found in the papers of the latter: amongst the rest the memorandum here translated, and with it a note explaining that, besides the matter to which it relates, the emperor had put questions regarding the contumacy of the literati of the district of Tung-kwan, who had lately manifested their dissatisfaction with the authorities by refusing to attend the examinations for degrees,

¹ Possibly, Brigadier Havelock.

regarding the alleged misconduct of a military officer who had been very backward against some Kwang-tung outlaws; and, lastly, regarding the publication of the "Sing-li Tsing-i," the "Essence of Moral Philosophy," and of another work, reprints of which had been ordered by his Majesty, at the suggestion of a high official, for the regeneration of the age.

Ki Shuh-tsau was younger brother of Ki Tsiun-tsau, who died not long since, one of the four principal Secretaries of State.—
T. F. W.]

(Translation.)

At my audience his Majesty questioned me very particularly respecting my official career, my settlement, my family, and my life before and after I came to be employed. I submit no copy of these questions to your excellency, but confine myself to laying before you those which his Majesty condescended to ask concerning Kwang-tung affairs. His Majesty asked,—

Q. Are the English barbarians quiet at the present time, or the reverse?

A. They are so far quiet.

Q. Will no trouble be caused by their trade at some future period?

A. In the nature of barbarians there is much to suspect. A communication received from them two or three months ago, raised several questions in language of a menacing character.¹ Seu and Yeh perfectly understand their trickiness, and as it is only by being resolute and positive that they can deal with them, they employ no word in their replies either more or less than is sufficient fully to meet ² what is said by the barbarians, and thus they are left without anything to rejoin.

Q. Do you know what they wrote about?

A. In their administration of barbarian affairs Seu and Yeh hold it important to be secret. As governor-general and governor they consult each other in confidence on all replies to be written (to barbarian letters). Neither your Majesty's servant, nor his fellow-commissioners, nor the intendants, although

¹ Questions they had no right to raise; *lit.*, put forth shoots not from the joint; a figure from the bamboo-tree.

² To meet, to controvert, or to reprove.

residing in the same city (as their excellencies), are able to learn anything beforehand. If, as is sometimes the case, reference has to be made to Pih-kwei, the Commissioner of Finance, the reply drafted by him has again to be considered and approved by them; and, on such occasions, when the question has been disposed of, Seu and Yeh are sure to communicate it to your servant, and to the rest as well. In former times, when barbarian affairs were in process of administration, news has reached barbarian quarters even before the event; but, now-a-days, not even those who are constantly about Seu and Yeh can obtain information of the measures they are considering, and so the barbarians can ascertain nothing; while we, on the other hand, are accurately informed of all that affects their countries.

Q. How are you informed of what passes in their countries?

A. In foreign parts (*lit.*, in the outer seas) there are newspapers. In these everything that concerns any nation is minutely recorded, and these we have it in our power to procure. And as the barbarians cannot dispense with our people in the work of interpretation, Seu and Yeh manage to make their employées furnish them privately every month with all particulars. We are thus enabled to know everything that concerns them.

Q. How is it that persons in barbarian employ will, notwithstanding, furnish us with intelligence?

A. It merely costs a few hundred dollars more a year to bestow rewards on them. For these they are well pleased to serve us. Then, again, if the news received from any one quarter appears unsatisfactory, there is more sent in from other quarters, and if the reports from different quarters agree, the information is of course entitled to full credit.

Q. Are their newspapers in their barbarian character, or in our Chinese character?

A. They are translations into Chinese.¹

Q. Have you seen these papers?

A. In the campaign in Tsing-yuen last winter, Yeh² received some, which he gave me to look at.

¹ That is, the papers he has seen, as will appear directly.

² Yeh was then Governor of Kwang-tung, and was absent from Canton four months, endeavouring to put down outlaws, or rebels, in Tsing-yuen and Ning-teh.

Q. What did they say?

A. Your servant remembers one circumstance. The English were at war with Bengal.¹ A Bengal man-of-war wanted to pass through English territory to attack (*lit.*, trouble, have a row with) some other nation; the English authorities² refused her a passage. Both sides opened a fire, in which an English ship was sunk, and a large number of the managing heads (directors) killed. The sovereign of their state assembled the chief persons (*lit.*, the head-eyes) in the chamber where business is discussed (*sc.*, the House of Parliament). It was there proposed (by some) to speak reason to (or argue the point with) Bengal, but by others, to raise a force, and take satisfaction. Your servant has also been told by Yeh that, in the different letters which have come from the sovereign of the state to Bonham, he has always been directed to trade with China in a friendly spirit, and not to be troublesome (or meddlesome). It is also said that, in reward for his administration of commercial intercourse, Bonham was presented by the sovereign of the state with a decoration called "O-tá-pá" (Order of the Bath), a thing somewhat of the same sort as the ancient red gold-fish purse.³ Bonham is well pleased with this. He parades it with pride; it will prevent him from making any more difficulties.

Q. How did the barbarians put their alleged grievance in the letter received from them?

A. When your servant returned to Canton from the Tsing-yuen campaign, to lay down his office, he was told by Sen and Yeh, that in the third moon Bonham⁴ had written to say that, as there was no great market for goods at two of the five ports, namely, in Ch'eh-kiang and Fuh-kien, he wanted to exchange the two ports in question for two others. Hang-chau and Su-chau would both answer the purpose: but, if this could not be, Chin-kiang would do. If Chin-kiang was also impossible, his ships of war would be obliged to go to Tien-tsin. Sen and Yeh replied, that trade at the five ports having been long settled by

¹ Hmash is probably meant.

² *Lit.*, those of the English barbarians who manage their affairs. This is very likely a translation of the term "Directors of the East India Company."

³ An ornament, or decoration, of ancient date.

⁴ He alludes to Sir George Bonham's letter, under instructions from the Foreign Office, written April 10, 1851, in which an exchange of ports was proposed.

treaty, no change could be made ; that, besides this, there was a fixed quantity of goods sold in China every year, the amount of which did not depend on the number of ports, more or less. Take the trade, they said, as it was before the five ports were opened, and has been since that event, and a calculation of the profits and losses of different parties will convince you (of this). If, with a good understanding existing between our two nations, your men-of-war attempt to go up to Tien-tsin, it is on your side that the quarrel will have been commenced ; no blame will attach to us. Since this reply was sent, no letter has been received from them.

Q. Who has charge of barbarian affairs besides Bonham ?

A. Your servant has been told that Bonham is the governor-in-chief (*lit.*, general head of the troops). Besides him there are Gutzlaff and Meadows. Gutzlaff was a practised machinator when he was in China before.¹ This time, it is said, the ruler of the state makes him confine his attention to commercial affairs, and does not allow him to meddle (with politics).

Q. Are the other trading nations on good terms with the English barbarians ?

A. When the English barbarians gave trouble some time since (*sc.* 1839-42), different nations assisted them. In the sequel it is said the English barbarians became deeply indebted to other nations for shipping, the value of which they have been unable to recover from them ; hence a good deal of misunderstanding. The other tribes are jealous, too, of the English barbarians for having carried their point (*sc.* with China) ; and so, although so far as outward appearances go, they trade together amicably, each party is, in fact, considering his own interests, and no cordial understanding is possible.

Q. Are the French quiet in Kwang-tung ?

A. The French continue to give no trouble in Kwang-tung. But it is said that, with the exception of trade, what they most prize is the teaching of their doctrine.

Q. What people practise their doctrine in general ? Are there "ku-jui" and "siu-tsai" (licentiates and graduates) amongst them ?

¹ Mr. Gutzlaff, then Chinese Secretary, returned to China in January, 1851, and died in August.

A. It is the common (*lit.*, the little people) who have no sense. All that they hear of the question is, that by the practice of virtue they may look for happiness, and so the chances are that they are mystified by them. Licentiates and graduates, inasmuch as they have rather more reading and acquaintance with philosophy,¹ which makes them respect themselves, are of course not to be so deluded. Your servant has never heard that such persons had embraced their doctrine.

Q. Have there been any prosecutions for the profession of the doctrine in Kwang-tung as well?²

A. Your servant has heard that some time ago there were some. There had been none from the time of his arrival last year until the fourth moon of the present, when Yeh wrote to him, confidentially, to the effect that, in the district of Ying-teh, Li San-wan was reported to be playing the Chih-jin Ta-wang (Great King of the Red men),³ and that in his behalf certain recreant graduates, already degraded with vagabonds and others, had privily leagued themselves with yamun followers and soldiers, most of whom were professing the doctrine; and he desired your servant to send a subordinate to make secret investigation. Your servant did send a subordinate, who went through the district from village to village in disguise, making inquiries for a month and more, but without any positive evidence of the fact. In the fifth moon your servant handed over his office to Tsui-tung, who again sent to make inquiry in every part of the Ung-yuen and Kinh-kiang districts. When your servant left Canton the officer sent had not returned, and he cannot say what steps were subsequently taken.

Q. Is not the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven⁴ also preached in Shan Si?

¹ Confucianism does not teach men to be virtuous, only in the hope of a reward. It is corrupt Buddhism, and other superstitions, which set the people propitiating good fortune.

² His Majesty probably means, "as well" as in Kwang-si, although little, if any notice had as yet been taken by the court of the troubles there. The word I translate "punishment" includes the infliction of the penalty.

³ The rebels have long been known as the "red-head men," from their turbans. The "red" here used is, however, a different character.

⁴ Here written "T'ien tau kiau," doctrine of the Grandfather of Heaven. "T'ien tau kiau" is evidently meant. It is the style by which Christianity, as taught by the Romanist missionaries, is known.

A. It is. When your servant was a licentiate, and superintending instruction in the district of Hung-tung, in Ping-yang Fu, the outlaw, Tsáu Shun, and others murdered the authorities in the city of Chau, and took the city itself. Hung-tung being but thirty li from Chau, we were on the alert night and day, and one day a confidential despatch was received from the prefect of Ping-yang, stating that in the street of the Shang-kia, in the city of Hung-tung, persons were propagating the doctrine, proselytising, preaching observances, and reciting canonical books; and desiring that, as they were very probably in league with the bad characters of Chau, they should be secretly arrested. On this, the district magistrate, in co-operation with the military, seized a Chih-li man surnamed Wang, who was preaching the doctrine there, and on whose person was found a crucifix and some books of the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, all in European characters (*lit.*, characters of the western seas). After this, all persons teaching or professing the doctrine were proceeded against according to law.

Q. And what did their books say?

A. Your servant saw that, besides others, there were some books copied in our Chinese character, which were all about Jesus. Jesus was the person who was nailed on the cross. They purported to exhort people to be virtuous, to keep the heart good, and to do good actions. But there is great unanimity (or community of opinion) amongst the professors of the doctrine; and though, under ordinary circumstances, while people of no intelligence do no more than observe fasts in the hope of obtaining happiness, it can do no great harm, if, in the course of time, a single remarkable person should appear (amongst its professors), he would be almost certain to create trouble by inflaming and deluding (the public).

Q. Have you ever seen the barbarian buildings at Hong Kong?

A. Your servant has not seen them. Those in the foreign factories on the Canton river he has seen, but he has never been into them.

Q. Have you seen any barbarians or barbarian ships?

A. Your servant has seen a Flowery Flag (*sc.* American) steamer on the Canton river. There were barbarians on board

the vessel, all dressed in white, both men and women. But she was too far off your servant's vessel for him to see them well.

Q. What nation is the Flowery Flag?

A. The American. The trade of the nation is very great; it is very rich and powerful, and yet not troublesome.

Q. How is it that America is rich and powerful, and yet not troublesome?

A. As a general rule, the outer barbarians trade, because their nature is so covetous. If one of them breaks the peace (makes trouble), the prosperity of the other's trade is marred. Thus the English are at this moment beggared;¹ but if they were to break the peace, it is not on their own trade alone that injury would be inflicted: other nations are therefore certain to object to any outrageous proceeding on their part. Were they to commence a disturbance, the Americans would certainly be the last to assist them.

Q. Why would not the Americans assist them?

A. Your servant has been told that the Americans have business relations of great importance with Wu Sung-yau (Howqua), formerly a hong merchant of Quang-tung; indeed, that they have had money of Wu. Every movement of the English barbarians is certain to be privately communicated to the family of Wu by the Americans, and Wu Sung-yau thereupon makes his private report to Seu and Yeh, who take precautionary measures accordingly. Thus, last year, it was by a communication from the Americans that it was known that a man-of-war of the English barbarians was coming to Tien-tsin (the Peiho). Not that this shows any sincere friendship for us on the part of the Americans: it was simply that their desire for gain is strong, and that they were afraid that their trade would be disturbed by (the act of) the English.

Q. When you came away, had the Tsing-yuen campaign been brought to a conclusion or not?

A. Your servant was in the camp at Tsing-yuen when he handed over his office. Tsui-tung, who succeeded him in the provincial commissionership, was still engaged in the supplementary measures necessary. He was making search in every

¹ And therefore he means not likely to go to war.

direction for the remains of the outlaw's gang, and the troops and militia were (in consequence) still in the field.

Q. When did you reach Tsing-yuen ?

A. Your servant left Canton on the 1st of the 8th moon of last year (5th September, 1850), and reached Tsing-yuen on the 4th.

Q. When did you hand over your office ?

A. Your servant handed over his office on the 21st of the 5th moon of this year (20th June, 1851), and returned to Canton on the 22nd.

Q. Did you return to Canton again after you had handed over your office ?

A. Your servant returned to close several matters which were on his hands, and which had to be duly brought to a conclusion, before he commenced his journey (to Peking).

Q. What day did you set out ?

A. Your servant set out on the 11th of the 6th moon.

Q. And did you pass through Tsing-yuen again on your way or not ?

A. I did.

Q. Where did you and Yeh reside in Tsing-yuen ?¹

A. Yeh was in the yamun of the magistrate, and your servant in the district college.

Q. Did you go to the camp ?

A. Your servant was at Tsing-yuen to dispose of some criminal prosecutions. He did not go to the camp.

Q. Were the outlaws put down throughout the district of Tsing-yuen before you left it ?

A. Nine-tenths of the outlaws in Tsing-yuen, Ying-teh, and Fuh-kang, had been got rid of, chiefs and followers. There remained none but those who had fled to the borders in fear of punishment. Proclamations had been issued to the head-boroughs and gentry of the villages, to bind and send in all who might find their way (*lit.*, sneak) home ; should any give them harbour, or conceal their presence, they were to be punished as well. There are still civil and military authorities scouring the

¹ This cross-examination is to establish the fact of the reoccupation of Tsing-yuen by the Government authorities. The city had been in the hands of the rebels.

districts of Chang-ning, Lien-jing, Tung-yuen, Kuo-kang, Chi-jing, and Lung-nan, with troops making search for the remains of the gangs. These are all to the east of the river. West of it, along the borders of Kwang-n and Hsiao-nan, in the Kwang-tung) districts of Yang-shan, Fan-yuen, and Lien-chau, there are also officers detached with troops in quest of robbers. When your servant started, reports of captures made were coming in every moment from both directions.

Q. In what part of the Kwang-tung Province is the department of Káu-chau?

A. Káu-chau Fu is in the south-west of Kwang-tung, 1,500 li and more from Canton.

Q. In what part of it is Lien-chau Fu?

A. Lien-chau Fu is also in the far south-west of Kwang-tung. It is upwards of 1,500 li from Canton.

Q. Are both Káu-chau Fu and Lien-chau Fu continuous with Kwang-si?

A. They are. Káu-chau Fu is continuous with the sub-prefecture of Yü-lin, in Kwang-si; and Lien-chau Fu with the Kwang-si districts of Poh-pen and Hwang.

Q. When was Fang A-wan taken?

A. Fan Wan and Li Tse-kwei were both taken last year, in the Lien-chau country.

Q. How many gangs are there still left in Káu-chau Fu?

A. When your servant was commencing his journey, he was told three; the gangs of Lui-pah, Ling Shih-pah, and Ho Ming-ko. Since his arrival at Peking he has heard of the capture of Lui-pah, so that but two remain.

Q. Among the outlaws seized, were there any with long hair?

A. None.

Q. What is the style of fighting with the outlaws?

A. In former outbreaks the outlaws have always dispersed on the first appearance of the troops of government; of late years they have become more daring, and when the troops appear they throw up intrenchments. They advance always all together,¹ until our troops check (or stop) them; they then retire, and divide them-

¹ It may mean in line, or, as a Chinese teacher understands it, with all arms in contiguous array, not in columns of different divisions, like the imperial troops.

selves into two bodies to take us in flank. Our troops, in their counter-attack, always take the precaution of throwing themselves into four or five columns, to keep their flanking bodies from surrounding them, while two other columns make a *détour*¹ to surround these. The outlaws then disperse in fear.

Q. Which are foremost in action, the regulars or the braves?

A. The braves, in general.

Q. Are the braves orderly or disorderly?

A. It depends entirely on the officer at their head. If his discipline is neither too lax nor too severe, they are not disorderly.

Q. Who command the braves?

A. Commanders of braves from the same country as the braves: some of them are *táu ling* (captains), *tui cháng* (seniors of columns), *ki-chang* (elders of flags), *tsung ling* (leaders or lieutenants); there are also civilians deputed to take charge of them, such as assistant magistrates, prefects' secretaries, township magistrates, prison masters, and, over all, the district magistrate. He has chief authority over certain military officers deputed to take charge of them, such as sergeants, ensigns, or lieutenants. All of these may be in command of braves.

Q. Where do the most active braves come from?

A. Some excel in one way and some in another. The braves of Chau-chau are good with fire-arms (*lit.*, fowling-pieces); those of Tung-kwan and Fuh-shan with target, sword, and spear; those of Shun-teh, with artillery. Those who excel in artillery and musketry fight well at a distance, but fail at close quarters. Those who excel in the use of sword and target, fight best in hand-to-hand conflicts, with short weapons. The outlaws, although provided with small arms and artillery, are not expert in the use of them. They, therefore, arm their advance, or make their attack, with the sword and shield, and to gain the day our troops are obliged also to be well able to use the sword and shield.

Q. How do the outlaws dress when they fight?

A. They are generally dressed in glazed (*lit.*, oiled) jackets,

¹ Several memorials had impressed on the emperor that the irregulars do all the fighting.

and overalls of dark glazed silk. When they fight they throw off their jackets and overalls, swathe their bodies, and come forward grasping their weapons. This (the stripping) is to enable them to escape with their lives; their captors cannot hold them. The braves are also said to strip when they go into action.

Q. Who takes care of the braves' clothes for them when they throw them off?

A. Those in charge of their camp.

Q. Were the braves who brought prisoners (*lit.*, criminals) into the camp at Tsing-yuen so stripped or not?

A. They were not; they put on their clothes again when the battle is won.

Q. Are there any theatrical entertainments at Canton at present?

A. They are prohibited during the present state mourning.

Q. Is there a stage for theatricals in your yamun, or not?

A. There is one in your servant's yamun, but it is out of repair, and fell down in the spring. Your servant has been told that it was the custom to have plays in his yamun twice a month. There is a large yung-tree in the second court, and by the side of it a small temple for the worship of the spirit of the tree. On the 1st and 15th of the month, a company of players used to be brought in to perform three plays; and incense, and candles, and the materials of sacrificial offerings, were provided. There was a tradition that if no plays were acted the people of the yamun would not have their health. The state was in mourning when your servant took charge, and accordingly, though the sacrifices have been offered on the 1st and 15th of the month, there have been no plays; but throughout his whole tenure, a year and more, none of the establishment has been indisposed.

Q. Have Seu and Yeh the title of Guardian of the Heir-apparent?¹

A. They have not the title of Guardian of the Heir-apparent. One of them is a viscount, and the other a baron.

Q. Have Seu and Yeh both peacock's feathers?

A. Peacock's feathers were conferred on them, for their

¹ *Lit.*, guardian of the palace.

administration of barbarian affairs, the year before last; a double-eyed feather on Seu, and a single-eyed feather on Yeh.

There were also a number of papers found, relating to the negotiations which took place in 1854, between the British and American plenipotentiaries and the Chinese high officers appointed to meet them; but as they bear entirely on events prior to my time, I do not insert them; however they are well worth studying in connection with the history of the events to which they relate.

CHAPTER IV.

The Sepoys ; their dinners and ablutions—Chinese fish-ponds—Game—How to recover lost property in China—Rumours of an attack—Sing-chong the contractor ; his opinion of the English, and ideas on religion—He makes a model barrack.

THE Sepoys must, I think, have lost a good deal of their caste in China ; but, as all sailed in the same boat, no one was likely to tell tales on their return, so it did not much signify. They are troublesome customers at sea, and give the commissariat enough to do to provide for their wants. Beef, pork, rum, and biscuit would, in sufficient quantities, take a British force anywhere, but the peas and beans, and corn and rice, and currants and ghee, and requirements of the different members composing an Indian force, give to those who are charged with their comforts on board ship an infinity of trouble.

Nevertheless, in spite of commissariat difficulties, it appears to me that we might utilize our Indian troops much more than we do, by making them serve for certain reasonably short periods in some of our colonies. Their terms of enlistment should be such as to admit of regiments being selected for this service, where they might be blended, as in India, with a small European force, and the duties judiciously arranged so as to suit each corps. The advantage to us, derived from an extended knowledge of the world acquired by the

Sepoys, and on their return disseminated among their countrymen, must be very great. With persons uneducated, and unprovided with suitable literature, the best medium through which to convey instruction is an appeal to their senses; and I can conceive nothing more likely to impress such persons with the wealth and power of Great Britain, than service in her colonies.

By this measure our English troops would be immensely saved in guards, and other garrison duties, for which the Sepoys are well fitted; and which in tropical and trying climates they would perform without that injury to themselves which might be incurred by our less acclimatised English soldiers — with whom the acclimatisation of one man means, but too frequently, the loss by death, or invaliding, of one or more of his comrades. In other words, the term has different significations when applied to individuals and regiments. In the first case it has its obvious meaning, in the second it implies the weeding out of all constitutions which cannot stand the climate.

Looking at the question from a purely financial point of view, there would be a considerable saving. It is estimated that the relative cost of European and Indian soldiers in India, is one hundred pounds, and twenty-five pounds per man per annum respectively. It is true that the cost of Indian troops out of India would be more, and that of British troops less, as the former would require more pay to serve abroad, and the latter would probably be on colonial allowances: still that would not make up the difference; and I think we may safely consider the cost of maintaining Indian troops in our colonies as one-third less than that of British soldiers.

Another point to be gained, is the rounding off of some of the sharp angles of their prejudices, and incon-

venient ideas of caste. In China, as I said before, they got some of these rubbed down considerably.

What scenes there used to be sometimes about their dinners! I was very much amused one day. A wretched Chinaman, prowling about among their cooking places, by chance invaded the sacred precincts of one of them. Up started the grim occupant, presenting to the view of the trespasser an apparition naked all but the merest apology for a cloth round his waist, with a piece of string round his neck, and his face daubed over with an ornamental pattern done in clay. This was perhaps a smart havildar, or may be a native officer, dressed for dinner. Of course, away flew poor John Chinaman, in his terror going regularly across country over the little enclosures of mud used as cooking-places, defiling the dinners in every place where he set foot; the swarthy figures disappointed of their delicious ghee-flavoured mess, rising in rage after him. He ran all down one row, when, being indiscreetly pursued, he got headed, and up again he tore through another series of kitchens, and was unable to make his escape until he had caused the greater part of the company to go without their dinners. I really could not pity them, for it was not that the food had been touched, but merely the dirt-pie-like arrangement of a kitchen of which the sanctity had been invaded. Nor was it because the Chinaman was dirty, for had it been the Governor-General of India himself who had been steeple-chasing through the kitchens their disgust would probably have been just the same.

Their habit of stripping and washing before eating, surprised the Chinese much, and at first they were furtively watched with great interest. The parties which I used to take out as an escort when surveying

astonished the country people immensely by this practice. I must say I got tired of the time it all took. One day, when they were all busy washing, preparatory to dinner, I sat down to eat my sandwiches. I pulled out my sherry flask, and, wanting some water to mix with the wine, I went some distance up the stream, and dipped out some in the tin cup at the bottom of my flask. I was watched, and my act observed. Not one bit of dinner would those men eat; I can only suppose, because I had drunk at the same stream with them. They put on their clothes, packed up their dinners, and said they would not eat till they got home. It was a pity they did not, for I gave them such a benefit over the hills as they had not enjoyed for some time. The impudence of the wretches thinking that if I wanted to drink I ought to go and imbibe the water in which they had washed their nasty bodies! I do not suppose I ought to say nasty, for they must be really very clean, so assiduous are they in their ablutions; but somehow the smell of the ghee seemed to me always to pervade their whole bodies. If any one wants to know what is ghee let him not look it out in a Hindostanee dictionary, for if he does he will find "clarified butter." I think rancid grease would be a much more fitting description of any that they brought with them to China.

All day long are these men about the water, washing either themselves or their clothes. It is really curious to see them at work at the long piece of cotton, which without strings or buttons, they convert into girdle, or kilt, or trowsers, or coat and waistcoat; in any of which, forms it never comes undone. Just try dressing yourself in a sheet, and merely fold it round, and turn in the ends, and see how long it will be before you come to grief.

In washing these long garments, a man would stand out on a flat stone a little way in the pond like a heron ; he would hold either end of the long cloth in one hand, and with a jerk of his arm throw up the whole long loop to its length, and make it fall in successive folds into the under hand, dropping the other upon it with a smack. To manage so long a thing without a board, or table, or tub, and to prevent its touching the ground in the process, is, I think, a triumph in the art of washing. .

This familiarity with the water brought them into personal acquaintance with the fish, and they would wade about the ponds with a great wicker basket something the shape of a large beehive, having a hole in the top. This they would jam down in the mud, and then feeling in the interior with the hand, they would often bring out a fish. When this was done on a considerable scale, confederates were employed to beat the water, and hunt the fish towards one corner of the pond, which of course much increased the chance. In these chases the fish used to go jumping out of the water in all directions, into the men's faces, and into their arms, and over their shoulders, and made a most exciting scene of it. Sometimes, in sheer desperation, they threw themselves on to dry land, finding their own element too hot to hold them.

These fresh-water ponds have quantities of shrimps in them—insipid, tasteless things ; they are caught in great dip-nets, held over the water suspended from a long bamboo, and which are allowed to remain at the bottom some time before being raised. Many of the ponds are liable to be dried up in the hot weather, and what becomes of the fish I know not, but a number of the banks are lined with earthenware jars tilted up at a

considerable angle, so as to contain a certain amount of water, which would flow in when the pond is full. Now as this form of bank would prove an expensive one were the jars only used as a support to the earth, I adopted the theory that it was a means of saving the lives of the fish in dry weather, when either they themselves would have the instinct to retire into the jars, or else that their spawn, having been deposited there, was preserved, and restocked the pond after the ensuing rains. I think the most common fish were mullet, carp, and dace. They were occasionally caught with a rod and line. One officer killed two or three over ten pounds weight, using dough as a bait. I believe that they grow with great rapidity, and that the Chinese transfer their spawn from pond to pond, and breed them artificially to a great extent.

Game was certainly not abundant round Canton. A fair bag of snipe might be got for severe walking, but there were very few partridges or quail, and no pheasants. We used to shoot wild doves in the bamboo plantations, where occasionally was found a stray cock. In one of my snipe-shooting excursions we had an adventure.

We had crossed over to Kuper island to shoot, and on our return to the mainland, refreshed ourselves with a pull at the sherry, out of a very nice flask with a silver cup which my companion had with him; which, by-the-way, is a bad thing to do, as it always makes one more thirsty. So we found it; for half an hour later we were crying out for it again, and found to our dismay that the silver cup was gone. We had not touched it in the interval; and all we could imagine was that H—— had let it drop when returning it to his pocket. We retraced our steps, and inquired as well

as we could, but nothing could we hear of it. We had been much observed when drinking, as it was in a village, so that they must have understood by our signs what was the matter.

Now here was a chance of making an experiment on the advantages of patriarchal government, and the chain of responsibility. Walking up and down proclaiming our loss, we suddenly came upon a venerable-looking old man, who betrayed a small knowledge of pigeon English. Him I seized by the tail, and told that he, being the elder of the village, was responsible for what losses occurred therein, and that I should detain him a prisoner until the missing article was restored.

In vain did he protest that he knew nothing of the matter, and that, indeed, he was not the elder. I maintained the attitude of a stolid and inflexible barbarian, and, I am afraid, made use of the very English but illogical remark, that if he was not the elder he ought to be, but that anyhow I did not care. I trust he took my brutality for ignorance. However, I still held him fast, and asked him, in a tremendous voice, if he knew Mr. Parkes. He trembled at his name, and I said, to Mr. Parkes he should go unless the property were restored. His friends crowded round him, and the poor old man, in great grief, explained his position to them. They implored us to let him go; and I was getting rather puzzled, when, to bring the matter to a climax, I said I could not wait, and began to march him down the street, midst wailing and lamentation.

Baroly had we reached the end of the village, when up bounded a little boy, drinking-cup in hand, which, with great prostrations, he presented to us. The old man's joy was extreme. He was instantly liberated and

“chin-chinned,” and liberally feed as an atonement for his temporary captivity. After delivering a moral lecture, as to the duties of the aged in bringing up the young in the paths of virtue, we parted, I hope tolerable friends. Now I suppose this man need not have been a confederate ; so, again, what do you think of the linguist who went security for Ahong ?

On the 21st of April an attack on our position was expected, and, indeed, all the summer we had unsettled times. On the 18th we were all paraded at alarm-posts, and on the 21st the West gate was shut, as it was expected, from information received, that an effort would be made to pour troops that way into the town. It was a great advantage to us to keep the gates well watched, for not only could we observe the people who went through, but we used them as barometers of the public feeling. As in that part of the country there are no carts, but everything is carried by Coolies, the loads taken in and out could be seen and noted. The large packages were all counted, and if a number of beds and good articles of furniture were brought in, it was considered a good sign ; but if bedding was taken out, accompanied by respectable-looking people, whilst disreputable people came in, we considered the state of public opinion had gone down to stormy, and we shut the gates.

It was hopeless to expect to keep out the braves altogether, and on the 10th April an attempt was made to murder one of the English police. He was severely cut on the head by a Chinaman, armed with a sword, when in the act of closing one of the city gates. On the 19th, copies of proclamations were brought in from two quarters, in which sums of money were offered for the heads of foreign officers and soldiers, and promised

to the families of such braves as might fall in action with the foreigners. Pih-kwei acknowledged having heard rumours to this effect, but said he knew nothing about the proclamations. It was evident that there were bodies of men encamped outside the city; on the north side especially, where their bamboo watch-towers were visible on the hills. A few days later an informer came to report the existence of a system of mines under the town, by which we were all to be blown up. He took us to some of them, which we found to be sewers having two feet of water in them, and which it would be extremely difficult to utilize for our destruction, more especially as they did not happen to pass under any of the buildings occupied by us.

An electric telegraph apparatus having been sent out from England, it was determined to lay it down; for though the entire length of the line, from the landing-place to head-quarters, was under two miles, and the great advantages of a telegraphic communication were not so apparent as they would be in a longer distance, yet it is a great saving to orderlies, especially when messages have to be sent by night, or in bad or hot weather.

Sing-chong, the contractor, had already been photographed; *that* he seemed in some way to understand. He knew there was the sun, and the sun could make shadows and reflections, which might be caught and fixed, but the telegraph was quite beyond his comprehension. We kept him at one station when we knew his son was near another, and we made them interchange messages. And when he found afterwards that they had been rightly reported, he expressed his conviction, "Englishman number one cunning; truly he all the same Joss."

Poor old Sing-chong! I do not think he had had much confidence in the power of Joss. He used to say, "Joss pigeon foolo pigeon." He explained that none of the educated people believed in idols, but that it was necessary to have a tangible sort of religion, admitting of visible gods and devils, to keep the ignorant in awe, and to make them fear to do wrong; and that for that reason the Buddhist religion was supported by the educated, who, though they saw through it, still wished their inferiors to respect and fear it.

It is, perhaps, hardly correct to speak of the Buddhism of China by that name, it has so much of other superstitions and idolatries mixed up with it. The Chinese, feeling the want of a religion—not being satisfied with Confucianism, which after all is but a code of morality, and having a craving for objects of prayer and worship—have looked around them and adopted the deities of other countries for that purpose, besides fabricating others from their own superstitions, until their number is legion. The main object of their devotion perhaps consists more in the attempt to propitiate bad spirits, and avert the evil they may work, than in the worship of good or beneficent spirits. In most Buddhist temples the number of representations of demons greatly exceeds that of good spirits. Still, as Sing-chong said, intelligent and educated people must in all this find something wanting, though they hardly know where to look for it.

We accused him once of having tried to overreach us in some bargain; his answer was, "How you think my can talkee so muchee lie, makey cheat; just now my too muchee old man, more sixty year old; in a few years must makee die. When my die my wantee go topside, suppose I talkee that lie how can? You

thinker my that fool, for a few dollars makee that lie that cheat?" The old man's dealings with us, both public and private, were numerous, and I think he was really fairly honest. I am sure some of his bargains must have been disadvantageous to him. He was, moreover, twice robbed, once by Chinese, who waylaid him as he was being carried up in his sedan-chair from the landing-place, where he had been paid some money by the Commissioners.

The rascals, who had watched him go down, lay in wait for him on a lonely part of the walls, and, as the chair passed, rushed up, knocked down the chair Coolies, tumbled out poor old Sing-chong, and were off with his bag of dollars before he could so much as cry out. On the other occasion he was robbed by his government. It was delicately hinted to him that for the valuable services he had rendered the foreigners at Canton it was considered that he should be advanced to the dignity of mandarin, and that a white button was ready for his acceptance on his paying the necessary fees; in this case amounting to, I believe, over a thousand dollars. He confided to us in a mysterious manner that it was "All the same squeeze." In fact, it was a fine for his having assisted us.

He gave an amusing instance of the imitative genius of his nation on one occasion. It was determined to build some wooden huts on the heights, and Sing-chong agreed to execute the work. He was given a sheet of paper, having on it at the bottom, a *plan* of the building, showing the joists and flooring, above that an *elevation*, showing the boarded sides and windows, and above that again a cross *section*, showing the proportions of the gable as well as the sides of the hut. After it had all been explained to him in pigeon English, he

was told to make a rough sort of model, according as he understood it, before preparing the material for the actual work. In a couple of days the model was presented. It was a pagoda-looking affair of the following construction. The lower story was square, each side being the length of what the building should be ; it was framed and boarded, and was, in fact, the *plan* of the building turned up on edge, forming the four sides of the figure ; above this was a story, also square, with windows, which was the *elevation* ; and the whole having been covered with a flat roof, he put in the centre a square pagoda with a pyramidal roof, each side the width of the cross *section* of the hut. He hinted that we had forgotten the doors and staircases, and that he had taken the liberty to add a railing round the edge of the flat roof, to prevent the soldiers falling off when they walked forth out of the top pagoda.

CHAPTER V.

Expedition to the Pei-ho—Pic-nic to the White Cloud Mountains—Attack on Chinese camp at Sampo-huey—Chinese acts of aggression, and steps taken to stop them—An honest old woman—Our baker refuses to poison us from selfish, rather than moral reasons—The Fayuen Committee—The Emperor's secret edict. Sing-chong's alarm—The defences of our cantonment.

IN the middle of May some troops moved off for the expedition to the Pei-ho under Sir Michael Seymour; a company of Engineers went on the 11th from Canton; the 59th were taken up from Hong Kong, and on the 16th of June a detachment of Marine Artillery was removed from Canton for the same purpose.

Some information of a beleaguering force, more definite than usual, must have been received late in May, for on the 2nd of June a pic-nic party left the city at 4 A.M. for an expedition to the White Cloud Mountains for reconnoitring purposes. The General was present, also Captain D'Abboville, the French commandant, together with a good many officers; one hundred English soldiers armed, and conveying some rockets, and about fifty French seamen. Mr. Parkes also formed one of the party, having in his charge in a sedan-chair an old Chinese woman who was supposed to have a great knowledge of the country, and who said she was willing to point out from the top of the mountain the principal positions of the enemy. We had a pleasant climb up to the top; but, just as we arrived at the temple which is built there, we were

shocked by the awfully sudden death of a poor French sailor, who in some manner in laying down his carbine shot himself accidentally through the stomach, causing immediate death. His comrades buried him in a beautiful spot, where the path, after winding round the blazing side of the hill, suddenly enters upon a cool glade in which the overhanging trees give shelter to a bed of graceful and luxuriant ferns, watered by the rippling stream which, rising within the temple above, is styled by the Chinese, "The Spring of Eternal Purity." Deliciously cool and pure this water was. Many a visit did we pay to this temple, and at each time were more and more disposed to agree with the natives, in the respect and love they bore to the crystal stream.

The priests, or bonzes, were very good fellows—the superior especially so; but one of the juniors was rather a rake, as we found on further acquaintance.

The mountain itself seemed quiet enough, and free from braves; but after breakfast a camp was discovered three or four miles to the eastward; that is, in the opposite direction to Canton. This camp was intrenched and inhabited, and was apparently new, as working parties were engaged on the intrenchments. It contained seventy tents, and probably about 1,000 men. It was situated on a small hill at the junction with the great valley of the White Cloud, of a pass from another valley still further to the eastward. The General determined to make an attack on this camp, as the ground seemed tolerably favourable. His plan was to move on them at daybreak in three columns. One (the right column) to start in gun-boats at night, so as to be opposite the situation of the camp as soon as it was light. The Canton river ran within perhaps four

or five miles of the camp. These troops, when landed, were to push on, and get behind it, so as to prevent a retreat into the inner valley, or up the mountains. The guiding mark for the disembarkation of this column was the Whampoa pagoda. Meanwhile, the centre column was to march straight towards the object, whilst that on the left was to make a sweep round, as one does with a fishing-net, clearing the country and driving all to the camp, which was to be the focus.

The necessary orders were sent in to Canton for the troops detailed to get under arms, and for the medical apparatus, ammunition, and all the *et ceteras* of war to be provided for the whole expedition. Meanwhile, all the pic-nic party, with the exception of the messengers and guides who went for the reinforcements, remained on the White Cloud Mountain. The old woman played her part; and amongst other places pointed out "Shek-tsin," a stronghold of the braves, which we took the following spring.

Having devoured as dinner, the remains of the food provided only for luncheon, we lay down on the floor, and slept till three. We paraded as soon as possible, and in the dark threaded our way down the steep stony path, until at about 5 A.M. we all found ourselves safe on the plain east of the "White Cloud," in the position allotted to the left column. After waiting twenty minutes or so, the head of Colonel Holloway's column appeared half a mile to our right (the centre column). So far, all was according to the programme. The right column down the river would not be visible, so we could only assume it to be right, and go on.

As soon as we displayed ourselves on the plain, the Chinese turned out, and thronged every height, waving banners, and discharging their jingalls and rockets at

us, at a range of about a mile. As we advanced they fell back. Colonel Holloway's column moved on straight; whilst we, as I said before, made a *détour* round to the left, beating up the country. On emerging from a village called Wong-kan-ton, and crossing a small stream, we suddenly came upon a crowd of the enemy in front of Lam-pe-tow, who stood till we came within 500 yards, when, as we advanced rapidly to the charge, they broke up like magic, into a crowd of skirmishers with matchlocks, two or three men to each piece, and with these great things they opened rather a smart fire. The French had a man badly hit on the knee. However, we were too quick for them, and they were forced to abandon their jingalls, and take to the hills. By this move they were cut off from the rest of their body, being turned away completely to the left. However, it was found out afterwards that they had another camp at a place called "Yun-shu-tow," some two miles farther to the north, or to our left, which I afterwards saw, and where, no doubt, there was a force at this time.

Having crossed another stream, and had a short halt to rest, and break up the arms we had found, we bent our course round, and with our right joining Holloway's left, we took up a position in rear of a village called Ki-ling Kong, surrounded by one of the bamboo hedges I have before spoken of. In front of it was a stretch of paddy-ground, then containing young rice, and under water; and across that, and facing our village, was another, some 600 yards off, called Seu-gow-po, having also a grove of trees behind it. This was occupied by the enemy, as well as the heights behind. We opened fire on the village and on the groups on the hills, with our rockets, and then one hundred men

were sent out on the left, who, making a *détour*, cleared out the village.

By this time it was dreadfully hot. I think the morning is the most trying time of the day in a hot climate. A number of men were knocked up; one sergeant died quite suddenly from sun-stroke; I suppose it might have been about nine o'clock. The General determined to rest in the village, and under the trees, until the afternoon, so as to refresh the men, and have a waning sun for his operations. Buffalo calves, fowls, and pigs, were caught and slain after the manner of soldiers: such as were not sick from the sun ate, and all lay down to rest.

After about two hours' halt, the General wished to reconnoitre, so as to find the exact position of the camp, which had been nowhere visible since we left the mountain-top. He took with him fifty volunteers, among whom was a body of officers. Out we went, and found a path across the paddy over which we could march. We then crossed a spur of a hill crowned with small fir-trees: here we were a little fired on by skirmishers in front of us. Pushing on up a second hill of the same nature, still under fire, we saw a third and higher one in front of us. On showing ourselves on the top, we were met by a well-directed volley from the front, and the hubbub of voices behind the hill showed us the position of the camp. The General having attained his object, ordered us to fall back; which we did slowly, firing as we retired, and fighting from tree to tree, and rock to rock. The Chinese pressed closely on us. I saw one within forty yards, crawling on all-fours with his matchlock, and trying to stalk us. They made also some attempts to overlap our flanks.

General Straubenzee, who had probably foreseen that we should be followed up on returning, had sent an order to Colonel Holloway to bring up two hundred men as a support, and on these showing themselves and opening fire, the Chinese fell back. It was fearfully hot all this time, and though every man went on well as long as we advanced, they began to droop from the sun the moment we retired. All those attacked were vomiting in the most distressing way. I do not know the number knocked down, but it must have been considerable, for I myself helped to carry down three men. When I got to the shade I was not much better than my neighbours. The principal medical officer passed by me as I sat leaning back against a tree, and surprised me by feeling my pulse, and looking at the pupils of my eyes. I told him I was all right, but he said no, I was not; but that if I would sit perfectly still for half an hour I might have some sauterne. Fancy what a prospect! At such a rate I was willing to have my pulse felt all day, and was quite content to be so far an invalid.

The Chinese had really fired rather well. Their range was very good; but they are unlucky shots. I do not remember what damage they did us, but I know they wounded three officers. No one was killed by shot, though one or two died from sun-stroke. Poor Dr. Turnbull, an excellent and deservedly popular man, was murdered in the morning: he was in rear of one of the columns, and whilst going from one group to another, a party of men rushed out from some houses, overpowered him and cut off his head. This is very much how Hackett, of the 59th, was killed at the taking of Canton.

About mid-day arrived Captain Grenfell, R.N., who

belonged to the party which should have gone down the river, and got behind the camp. It appears that, from some mistake, they had disembarked in the wrong place, being, I believe, misled by the similarity of the Honam and Whampo pagodas, having landed nearly opposite the former. He told us that the field-guns, having got stuck in the paddy, the 70th B. N. I. were stopping to guard them, whilst he had advanced with his sailors to see what was going on.

At five P.M. it was pleasant and cool; and we all paraded, and marched in proud array to the camp. Everything was suspiciously quiet, and on our arrival we found that the tents had all been struck and cleared away, and the whole place was as empty as if it had not been garrisoned for years. There was a large building in the camp, which we burned, but beyond that there was nothing to do. We went up the valley, to see if there were any traces of the fugitives, but there were none. Meanwhile the heat of the day had turned to thunder, and down came the rain in torrents, and we had to grope our way back in the dark, over the paddy-fields to our camp. Here in a buffalo stable, bedded down on some brushwood, a select party of us slept soundly till three, at which hour we paraded, and evacuating our temporary quarters, commenced our return to Canton, getting home at about ten A.M., where all our companions were eager to hear the tale, which was told with much spirit, and listened to with attention; but unfortunately the climax was not what it should be. No embellishments of language could people the empty fort, nor supply the flaunting trophies to which we had so confidently looked forward as already within our grasp.

At midnight there was an alarm, and the troops were

turned out ; we were rocketed from the hills outside, but nothing further was attempted, and no harm was done.

After this we had troublous times ; rewards were offered for barbarian heads, and attacks were made on solitary individuals, by men lying in wait for them in the empty houses near the walls. On the 16th June a Sepoy was attacked and wounded, but beat off his assailant. The would-be assassin made his escape in a clever way. He had a bamboo, about six feet long, with a rope attached ; and when he saw that his attack by surprise was a failure, and some of the Sepoy's comrades were coming up, he ran off, laid down his bamboo across the inside of the opening of an embrasure, got through the embrasure with the rope in his hand, and the bamboo being laid across, and acting as a grapnel, he slid down the rope into the suburbs, and disappeared in a second. When it was reported, orders were given to pull down the houses among which the man had secreted himself.

This was the policy adopted throughout, and I think it was the right one. Many of the inhabitants having left the city, and carried off their property from their houses, disorderly robbers took possession of them, and lurked about in the neighbourhood of the wall, which was our high road, watching for solitary and unarmed individuals whom they might attack and rob, or murder, if possible, for the head-money offered. Among these houses was held out the bait, tempting to the soldier, of samshu, the spirit of the country ; a villainous, poisonous spirit concocted from rice, but strong, and above all cheap, and therefore much to be desired by the drunken. Nor were the blandishments of the fair sex wanting ; ladies no doubt accounted beautiful in that land, with goat-like feet shod with scarlet slippers, and

hair coquettishly adorned with flowers, looked coyly from round the corners of the houses, within which lay hidden the miscreant with his sword, ready to chop off the head of the too-confiding adventurer.

The following are instances of aggression besides the two I have mentioned. A camp follower of the 70th B. N. I. was kidnapped and carried off to Fayuen. Two policemen were attacked and wounded when opening one of the city gates. An Indian drummer was wounded in the streets. A boy, a follower of the 70th B. N. I., was thrown over the walls of the city. Another follower of the same regiment was murdered. A sepoy of the 65th B. N. I. was kidnapped, and another wounded, in the eastern suburb. An attempt was made to blow up a police-station by throwing in bags of powder with lighted matches, by which three English police were very severely burnt. It became necessary to take stringent measures to put a stop to such a state of affairs.

Of course, when attacks were made, down came all the houses near: indeed no other course could be adopted; but with regard to those still occupied by their original owners, the case stood somewhat differently. However, they were all warned by proclamation that since these outrages had been committed, steps must be taken to put a stop to the practice; that it was the duty of all respectable persons, equally with ourselves, to make every effort to prevent these murderers carrying on their atrocious practices; and all were invited to request our assistance in driving these bands from their neighbourhood, should they attempt to settle near them. Thus would property be secured, and the peace of the city be restored.

A discussion was held at one time as to the best

means to be taken for the security of our storehouses at the landing-place, which were only separated from the buildings in the suburbs by a narrow creek. It was decided that as the contiguous houses were shops doing a fair trade, and apparently respectably inhabited, their preservation would be a security; and that as long as their owners remained in possession, the braves would be kept at a distance, and they were therefore allowed to stand. Still this did not last: attempts were made to burn our stores from these very houses, and we had to pull them down to preserve our security.

On the 18th June rockets were fired at our cantonments from the high ground outside. On the 20th fire-balls were thrown into a stable attached to a pagoda on the city walls, which we used as a barrack; but fortunately some one was at hand, who prevented the fire spreading. On the 22nd a man was attacked in the western suburb. On the 23rd an officer's servant, a Madras man, was murdered and beheaded. On the 29th they fired rockets assiduously between ten and twelve at night: we were prepared for an attack, but nothing came of it.

The Chinese, troublesome though they may be when urged on by their rulers, are, nevertheless, when left to themselves, wonderfully docile, and amenable to reason. On one occasion, when a party was sent down under my orders to pull down houses after an outrage, I was accosted by a respectable-looking man, who introduced himself as the owner of the greater part of the street. On my informing him of the contemplated destruction of his property, he said he expected as much; he saw we had no other course to adopt, and that it was inevitable. I then asked him why he allowed these braves to settle near him, and, if he was unable to get

rid of them himself, why did not he report that they were there, and allow us to turn them out for him. His answer was, "But tell me how long will you remain here to preserve order? Will you stay here always? No, you will stay perhaps one year, perhaps two. If I make myself obnoxious to a party of my countrymen now, how do you think I should fare when you are gone? No! better to suffer these evils now, than to give cause for future revenge." He then asked how far we were going to extend our demolitions, and requested leave to pull his own houses down himself, as he might then save some of the materials. As this duty was rather a severe one for the troops, his offer was gladly accepted, and very well did he do it.

The effect of this policy showed well in one instance. One evening a little boy came to the barracks at the East gate, and partly in a few words of English, and partly by signs, appeared to implore some one to follow him into the city. For a little time no notice was taken of him; but at last, so eager did he seem, it was decided to send a small party of armed men with him to see what he wanted. He appeared much delighted, and in great haste guided them through intricate streets and lanes, looking very much like the approach to an ambush, and after some little time triumphantly halted before a poor house, where a very old woman opened the door and came forward: she invited the party to enter; and there, on the floor, in a state of senseless intoxication, lay, shameful to relate, a British soldier. He was picked up, and taken to the barracks, the old woman accompanying the party to relate her story, which was that the man came reeling along the street, and fell opposite her door; that she was in terror lest he should be found by braves and be beheaded, for then

she knew, his body being found there, her house would at once be pulled down, and that she in her old age would be cast adrift on the world. So she dragged him within as quickly as she could, despatched her grandson to give the information, and locked the door, so as to keep him concealed.

Next day the General ordered a reward to be sent her : when it was offered, she said, " Now do not mistake me. I don't want your reward. I have no love for any of you, nor for your drunken soldier. I do not care what becomes of him, but I do not want to be turned out of my house. I do not want any reward for taking care of myself." It would probably make her obnoxious, if it were known that she took a reward for saving a barbarian's life. I do not know whether she was at last prevailed upon to accept it; she certainly deserved it; for if she had chopped off his head, and carried off the body to some other person's door, she might have made a good thing out of her chance.

Our baker was offered eight thousand dollars to poison all our bread, after the fashion of Alum, the Hong Kong baker; but he made answer that he received very nearly that sum from us in a month by lawful baking, and hinted that he was not such a fool as to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs. It is fortunate that our enemy's treasury was at too low an ebb to enable them to offer a sufficient price for our heads in bulk, and they were fortunately spared any very serious disbursement on account of the same articles in detail. I think they only got three or four heads, besides poor Dr. Turnbull's.

All this time poor old Pih-kwei was in arrest, as he was in a great measure held accountable for what was going on; but I believe Chinese documents were found

subsequently which cleared him. Hwang, the Imperial Commissioner, and successor to Yeh as viceroy of the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si, was suspected of having a hand in it; but the most active instigators were a committee of influential men, who determined to make it their business to drive us from Canton either by the bold stroke of an attack on the city, or by measures of treachery, or by gradually eliminating us by the process of assassination. These respectable country gentlemen had their head-quarters at a city called Fayuen, about thirty miles from Canton, and hence they were commonly designated the "Fayuen committee." But they had other strong points, one of the principal of which was Shek-tsin, of which I have before spoken, as being pointed out by the old woman on the White Cloud Mountains, and shall have occasion to mention again. The measures undertaken by these men were concocted entirely without the knowledge or connivance of poor old Pih-kwei, who must have been sadly perplexed at the turn matters were taking. However, for all we knew at the time, we were quite justified in putting him under a mild temporary restraint.

The following curious document, obtained by Sir H. Parkes in November, though of a later date, (and referring to the measures to be adopted towards us at the Peiho, as well as at Canton,) explains the state of affairs. It is a curious instance of what dependence should be placed on Chinese treaties; for it must be borne in mind that Lord Elgin's treaty of 1858 had been signed about five months, when this edict was written:—

*Secret Edict despatched from Peking, November 7, 1858, and
received at Fayuen, November 22, 1858.*

(Translation.)

LOOKING back upon past events to our accession to the throne at a time when we were still young, we call to mind or

constant apprehensions that, though attending with unceasing solicitude to the affairs of state, we have failed to fulfil the trust confided to us by our illustrious predecessor. Contrary to all expectation, from the commencement of our reign, now eight years ago, the long-haired rebels on both banks of the river (Yang-tsze) have continued their extravagant excesses; and in the eastern and western provinces of Yueh (Kwang-tung and Kwang-si), the red-turbaned thieves cease not to cause disorders; the whole empire is thrown into confusion, and banditti appear in every quarter.

And just as some amelioration in this state of things was taking place, and we began to witness a partial restoration of the country to order, the English barbarians suddenly again broke out into rebellion, took possession of the capital of eastern Yueh (Canton), attacked and destroyed the forts of Tien-tsin, and even dared to penetrate into the inner land. Their violence awakes the indignation of both gods and men, and the very ground itself cries out against them for the injuries they have inflicted. Can the number of the people's houses which they have destroyed be counted by the myriad, or would millions cover the amount of the state revenues which they have caused to be wasted!

Searching out the origin of this trouble, we see conclusively that it has been caused by our having employed men unfitted for their office, who were not able either to guide or to control the actions (of the foreigners), and have thus brought ruin upon the land. Our tears flow at the recital of these misfortunes.

Why is it then that we have succumbed to circumstances, and permitted the acceptance of terms of peace from the said barbarians? It was, indeed, for no other reason than that war had reached the portals of our imperial domains; the enemy was at the gates of our capital; and, in the train of war, follow alarm and disorder; the people are scattered and rendered homeless. How could we endure that our people should suffer? Our rest was disturbed, and we could not eat in peace. No other course, therefore, was open to us, but to concede what they requested, in order to put an end to present distress.

Now, however, we have already ordered Leang Tung-sin to proceed with despatch to Tung-chow, and to purchase a large

supply of stakes, which he is to lay down securely in such positions at Tien-tsin, or on the sea-coast in its vicinity, as he may deem most suitable, in order to provide defence so secure, and a barrier so effectual, that the barbarian vessels will never again be able to enter the inner waters. This is a measure of the utmost importance.

As to the province of Kwang-tung, which has hitherto been famed for its loyalty and patriotism, and on a former occasion received from his late Majesty the monumental inscription, "A sovereign's reward for a people's devotion," and a special edict expressing his marked approval of their conduct, and the gratification it afforded him, we look to those high ministers, Lo Tung-yeu and others (*i. e.*, the Fayuen Commissioners), to give effect to our wishes. On them the duty rests of making in secret all the necessary arrangements, of marshalling the rural population without attracting observation, and of everywhere establishing train-bands, and by securing among them combinations, as well as by rousing them to exertion and keeping their communications everywhere complete, they may present to the outer barbarians such a display of the power of China as shall cause them to retire from the position they have assumed.

In order to secure secrecy in their proceedings, and to prevent any notice of the scheme escaping, the authorities must no longer appear to act a hostile part (towards the foreigners), but must only direct the people to oppose them; nor need any communication whatever be held on the subject with the local functionaries, nor even with the Governor-General and the Governor of the province.

Thus, if victory attend us, we may be assured that we are fulfilling the demands of heaven; but, if defeat, we shall still avoid being involved in war. And it is not impossible that we may see, as the result of this scheme, peace gradually taking the place of those foreign troubles and assaults upon our nation which we have experienced during some years past; we may see a stop put to barbarian encroachment, and glory again descending on the civilization of Hea (China).

Let the efforts of you, my ministers (the Fayuen Commissioners), be directed to this end, and do not disappoint the hopes of your sovereign. When you shall have received this secret edict,

hasten to draw up a minute statement of the measures which you think necessary for the execution of these objects, and forward it to us by flying courier. Let there be no delay, and let this important edict, which is for the information (of the Commissioners), be forwarded to them by an express of 600 *li* per day.

Intelligence of all kinds came pouring in continually, —many days were confidently named for the anticipated attack on the city, but still matters went on in the same way. It was evident that it was merely a question of days, and there was no doubt but that our besiegers were trying to screw up their courage to make the attempt.

It was reported, amongst other things, that an attempt had been made to repair and rearm one of the forts on the river in Blenheim Reach, and I was sent down to observe. It was found to be a false alarm; but, in order to prevent anything mischievous being done, a breach was made in either end by mines, so as to enable every gun-boat going up or down the river, to see all over the interior of the work.

Meanwhile we walked about the city much as usual, and in the more thronged and respectable streets everything was quiet enough; still it was by no means safe to go alone in any unfrequented parts of the town. Poor old Sing-chong was in great terror; he never would go into the town at all, if he could possibly help it; and whenever he was obliged to go to the Commissioners' *yamun* on business, to which occasions he limited his excursions, he used to go in a sedan-chair, with all the blinds jealously closed, after the fashion in which the city ladies travelled. Sometimes, indeed, not content with this concealment, he was, at his request, provided with an escort.

The troops were not idle this summer. We worked away at our cantonment, and made it tolerably secure against a surprise. Very little could be done in the way of a regular attack : we were open to two methods, —one from the country outside, and the other from the city. We did not attempt to hold the walls for their entire circuit, but only on the high ground which we occupied by our cantonment, and in the neighbourhood of the gates, and of our posts along the walls. Of course we were anxious to let as few braves as possible get into the city, though we were unable to prevent their climbing over the walls in remote places ; so that an assault from the outside, to affect us seriously, must be directed against the part close to our barracks, where we were in a position to look confidently to being able to drive off a very much more formidable foe than we expected to encounter.

The great difficulty in the way of an attack from the city, was the narrowness of the streets : it would be impossible for our assailants to bring forward any front at all. Indeed, they would not be able to collect in the city, or form, without giving us ample notice, and time to guard against a surprise, which was the only thing which could hurt us. Moreover, our demolitions had cleared a space round our front, which was all overlooked from the heights, and every avenue of approach by which they could come was so well guarded, and commanded by our guns, that it would have taken a very determined enemy indeed to carry our position without the aid of artillery. This we considered it impossible for them to bring to bear on us from the city, as our explorations had displayed their resources, and all that could be used against us had been removed.

CHAPTER VI.

Continuation of annoyances—The braves attack the city—English rockets *versus* Chinese—The captured artilleryman and the mandarin's daughter—Bamboo-worker kidnapped—Sing-chong's ideas of partnership—Chinese epistles—How Lee-ching learnt proper English—Taxing our servants—Capture of Namtow—The drunkards secured—Pih-kwei's exoneration.

On the night of the 3rd July they made one of their desultory attacks, and fired rockets and other combustibles at our storehouses from the shops which we had so considerably agreed to spare a few weeks before. Fortunately no harm was done. On the next day, and for some time after, working parties were employed demolishing the houses. On the 13th they were fired on, and a French boatswain killed; a marine, two Sepoys, and three Chinese coolies were badly wounded. In return for this, our metropolitan improvements were extended by fire, and a good large clear space obtained, well under view of our sentries; after which our stores were unmolested.

But the restless spirit was still abroad. On the 16th the body of a murdered English soldier was discovered in a street, with his head and arm cut off. The poor man was an orderly, and was carrying the order-book from one post to another. Instead of keeping to the proper road, he had been tempted to take a short cut through a street, and so fell into the hands of the braves.

Almost every night we were treated to a display of

rockets, fired into our cantonments from the hills on the north of the city, where Fort Gough and three others stood in ruins. They even got at one of the old guns which we had spiked, and tumbled into the ditch of Marine Fort, and fired some shots from it, which, however, fortunately fell harmlessly. The rockets entered our barracks, but did little or no harm.

These warlike implements, so often spoken of, are just like large sky-rockets, but the head of the stick is provided with an iron barbed arrow-point, which makes it a very disagreeable thing to be hit with : a midshipman was killed by one at the capture of Canton. These rockets our assailants appeared to fire from the ground. The practice seemed to be for a few men to go up the hill with a large bundle of them, and, after ensconcing themselves behind a mound, they would send off their rockets, sometimes singly, and sometimes in bouquets ; and very pretty they looked. Considering the number of people who used to be looking out at the fireworks, they were unlucky in only hitting one man, and I am not sure that his wound was not from a jingall shot.

But their crowning effort was reserved for the night of the 20th July. At ten o'clock they began to bombard us with more vigour than ever, and treated us to many more bullets than on previous occasions. Their efforts were principally directed against the West gate, and our position on Magazine Hill. At two in the morning some one set fire to one of our piquet houses in the city, and soon after that, large bodies of men, guided by the light of lanterns, were to be seen moving all over the north plain. A dash was made at the West gate by a party well provided with lanterns, up the straight street leading from the western suburbs. A howitzer, opportunely loaded with grape, was dis-

charged straight down, and terrible must have been its effects. For a moment there was seen by the light of the broken and flaring lanterns, an indistinct writhing mass, and then all was dark again. They never made a second attack at this point.

At the North gate they made a great deal of noise, and some furtive dashes at the gate, but were on each occasion met by volleys from the French, who guarded that post. They then adjourned to a spot on the walls some four hundred yards west of the North gate, where, after throwing up light-balls, and what are technically called stink-pots, for a minute or two, they at last, amidst intense cheering, scaled the wall, and were plainly visible, by the light of their fireworks, dancing a furious war-dance on its summit. A volley from the French took them just at the moment—they danced no more. Two days later, on passing by, I saw eight graves on the spot : these men had probably been carried down into the town by their comrades, and buried by night, near the spot where they had fallen.

This was not the only attempt they made. At the north-west angle of the city there stood an old ruined projecting tower, constructed so as to give a flanking fire on the two adjacent faces of the wall : this the storming party attempted to blow down, so as to provide themselves with a means of gaining the top of the wall by climbing over the débris. They fired two charges almost simultaneously, with this view ; but, though they shook the walls considerably, they only blew two large holes in the masonry. However, they managed, by the help of some pillars which formerly supported the floor of the tower, to climb up in considerable numbers, being at this spot unopposed ; but some of them venturing along the top of the wall too

near the West gate were met by a party of marines, who made a sortie from that post, and they were soon discomfited.

At the north-east angle of the city, near a post occupied by the 70th Bengalees, they scaled the walls by means of ladders, and got into a gun-shed on the rampart, from which they began to rocket the barracks. However, they were routed, as at the West gate, with some loss, and a number of rockets and some ladders fell as trophies into the hands of the 70th.

As the day broke, we could see their divisions on the north plain, moving off. One body of men however, advanced, and began to take possession of a Mahomedan mosque not very far from the North gate. This we could not allow, so we cleared them out with one or two shells, and gave them also a specimen of the barbarian rocket, which discomfited as well as astonished them by its explosive qualities. One which fell hissing on the ground, was attacked by a revengeful Chinaman, who belaboured it severely with a bamboo, as a relief to his feelings, when on a sudden off it went, bursting into fragments, and putting its assailant in no small peril. However, more by good luck than good management, the fellow was not hit; but I do not think he ever ran much faster than when he set off, striving to put as great a distance as he could, between himself and the "foreign devils'" engine of war.

We got some notion of the loss they sustained in the western suburbs, as the roads leading from that quarter to the camp were within view from the Magazine Hill, and we saw many bodies of killed or wounded being carried out on stretchers. By 7 o'clock they had all cleared off.

This was the only general attack they made; it was

rumoured that it was to be renewed on the 22nd, and we all paraded at alarm posts at midnight, where we remained till daybreak, but all was quiet; we were occasionally fired upon at night, but nothing more was done, and on 4th August, a letter was received from Whang, acknowledging the receipt of the tidings of Lord Elgin's success in the north, and the treaty concluded at Tien-tsin.

Our immunity from serious attacks appeared to arise from financial difficulties more than anything else. It was reported that the troops only received three dollars a month; they said three dollars "chow chow" (or for food) "can do,—three dollars' fight can do. But for three dollars one moon how can catchee chow chow, makee fight? No can."

Thus they had a difficulty in raising recruits, and it would only have been possible for them to injure us materially, by their bringing up vast masses of men against us. A very superior number of men armed only with sticks, ought to overpower a small party armed with Enfield rifles; still, whatever their force within reasonable limits, our advantages of position and superiority of arms left them but little chance of ever realizing their fond idea of driving us pell-mell into the river.

In the latter part of this month and the beginning of the next, the troops began to return from the north: they had not been able to take a very active part in the affair, as all the fighting was over before they got up; there having been no resistance after that first offered by the forts at the mouth of the Peiho. Here a strong hawser was stretched across the river in order to check the course of our vessels, and bring them up, on a spot fully commanded by the guns in the forts. But

they had not reckoned on the impetus of a despatch-boat steaming at full power; and exposed to this test, the hawser snapped like a hair, and the fleet firing as they went up, and receiving such passing compliments as the garrison had time to pay, took up a position above the batteries, from which, by taking them in reverse, they rendered them untenable even by the best troops.

One of the individuals most benefited by the transition from war to peace was a bombardier of artillery, who had been kidnapped on the 26th July on the walls of Canton, and carried off by braves. He was at first treated with much cruelty, and confined in a cage, in which he was carried from place to place, and put down in the streets, where he was publicly shown to the multitude, and underwent no little insult and ill-treatment at their hands. He was ultimately taken to a place called "Kong-tsun," about twelve miles from Canton. Here he was in charge of a mandarin, who was married, and had a family. The soldier was now allowed to walk for exercise in a walled garden, where he attracted the attention of a little girl, the mandarin's daughter; and at last a sort of friendship sprung up between them; and, being an intelligent man, he used to amuse his little friend by drawing her pictures illustrative of barbarian manners and customs. This little mediatrix caused an improvement in his treatment. Soon after the proclamation of peace, he was sent back to Canton by water, safe and sound, though with his nerves much shattered. The first dreadful trial of the chase, the capture, the fear of instant and violent death; then, finding that his life was spared, the agony of dread lest he should be reserved for future torture, and a slow and lingering death; lastly, when it was evident that he was looked upon as a prisoner to whom it was

worth while to show some attention and care, the fear that he should never be able to escape, nor allowed to return to his native land—all this, added to the actual wounds he received from the spears of his pursuers, was enough to upset the nervous system of any one.

It was reported that a Chinese bamboo-worker in the employ of the Engineers had been carried off at about the same time. A letter was sent into the city purporting to come from him, and stating that he had been caught by braves, but that they were willing to ransom him for thirty dollars. As this man at the time of his disappearance had in his possession sixty-one dollars belonging to Sing-chong, it seemed by no means improbable that he had absconded, and sent the letter to put us off his track, or peradventure induce us to send thirty dollars to add to what he had got from Sing-chong. It would moreover be impossible to insure the ransom ever reaching the persons for whom it was intended, nor the release of the prisoner even if it did. So the bamboo-man had to take his chance.

Sing-chong took rather an amusing view of the affair as regarded his loss, and going to a better linguist than himself called "Yung-sing," they concocted the following letter :—

" MAJOR FISHER,

" The matter on the 5th of July, a Chinese Bamboo Worker (Apuck) at the same day 3 or clock, I gave to him 55 dollars send them to (Chin-kee) of China shop to buy 400 pieces Bamboo Mats, and 1 bargain bill ordered to (Tong-king) shop to be make 2 large flax Ropes, payment 5 dollars, and small boat hire 1 dollar. Total being 61 dollars. (Apuck) so run away with

61 dollars, at the same time, and never came back, on next day I send some man to enquired about the small boats, who knows (Apuck) also the shop man, who dealer in mats, and rope maker said (Apuck) has nothing to do with him at present, on the 9th day (Apuck) has a letter delivered to Asam the bamboo makers brings to me (Apuck,) said he has been taken away by the Militia, and they wants 30 dollars to let him return, beg me to save him, and pay him the money. But the bargain bill for to get the ropes, so he leaved the bill to Asam shop, so will be proove (Apuck) has done nothing for what I wishes.

“ Now I beg you Sir will do me the favour (Apuck) has 4 Partnerships went up to the North, as soon as the 4 Workmen arrive it at Hong-Kong, every man will deduct 15 dollars from his Wages, so I shall not lose the money by it.”

So universal is the habit in China of one man being responsible for another's acts, and consequently each one interested in the conduct of the other, that Sing-chong appeared to have no doubt that the defaulter's brother workmen would immediately indemnify him for the losses he had sustained through the misfortune or misdoings of their companion; though, as far as was known, there was no compact or agreement of partnership of any kind between them.

The Chinese, when they wrote English, were much more careful than in talking it, and did not pigeonise it nearly so much. Yung-sing could sometimes write a good letter, in a capital hand, and well spelt. Sing-chong was not so good. The following are specimens of English composition at Chinese hands :—

“ MAJOR FISHER, 24th January, 1860.

“ I have seen the house in Commissioners Yamom, which you order to me that the price was charge one thousand and seven hundred dollars, those materials which I pay except that bricks which pay by yourself, for there are too much a dear, I counted the wall of that house is one thousand and nine hundred feet long, and windows more than six hundred when the house was quite finished, and put paper afterwards, this is counted besides : and I think commencing them by six or seven days more, for they mason and carpenters are not leasuir, these a few days happy new year.

“ SING-CHONG.”

I must exonerate the Engineers from the imputation of building such an extraordinary house as this seems to have been, with walls 1,900 feet long, and more than 600 windows. The explanation is, that we had to wall in some large halls intended to be used as barracks. It was to be done in brick-work to a certain height, about three feet, the rest to be of matting papered on the inside ; and for the sake of coolness, the whole matting from a height of eight feet above the floor, to the eaves, was made in flaps, to open. The 1,900 feet was the entire circuit of the halls, and it was divided into 600 flaps. The bricks were very expensive to buy, and were therefore provided by us out of our stock collected from the houses we pulled down.

The next is rather perplexing :—

“ MAJOR FISHER, 24th January, 1860.

“ An interpreter Aon was have been in the number six station at five months. He was connected with the Missionaries school of the American. Now

interpreter Aling who take Yamom is the station of
 the number six station interpreter Aling take
 the state in Yamom. Aon expect me beg you change
 among the two states—by your order.”

I believe the meaning, which is not clear, was, that these two men, who were schoolfellows or mates, and perhaps both Christians, had formerly served as policemen in No. 6 Station, but that Aling had been removed to the Commissioners' Yamun, and Aon desired to join him.

Sing-chong used to think that we had, like them, a mandarin dialect and a vulgar tongue, the latter being that called pigeon. He used to say, that though he understood us when we addressed him, he could never make out what we said to one another. It was the same with our servants.

All with whom we dealt appeared desirous to learn our mandarin dialect, and one officer gravely taught Lee-ching, a shopkeeper, whom we dealt with largely, to say to his customers when he wished to induce them to buy—"I am aware that my prices are exorbitant," and the poor man learnt it quite in good faith. In writing, more time being given for deliberation than in speaking, their composition was much more careful.

In spite of the conclusion of peace, and the treaty signed at Tien-tsin, and acknowledged in a public proclamation by Whang, the viceroy, the camps of braves still remained in our neighbourhood, kept up by the patriotic party under the superintendence of the "I'nyuen Committee." As one means of raising funds they adopted the excellent one of taxing heavily all the natives who lived in the service of, or by dealings with,

the barbarians. Should the victim not appear at the time appointed, his nearest relative was taken and imprisoned until the fine was paid, either by the delinquent or by one of his friends.

Some placards of an objectionable nature, which emanated from a town called "Namtow," on the Canton river, were circulated in Hong Kong, and proclamations in reply were drawn up at that place, and a gun-boat sent to the town for the purpose of posting them up on the walls. A party going on shore under a flag of truce was fired on.

This violation of peace, and of the white flag, it was necessary to avenge, and an expeditionary force was organized to take the city. General Straubenzee took down about five hundred men, and others were sent up from Hong Kong. The attack was made on the 11th August. The walled city was bombarded for some time, and then the storming party was put on shore: they had to pass through the suburbs to gain the city walls. The enemy came out of the town and fought us there, firing down the cross streets as our troops advanced: their opposition here was more serious than at the walls, and the escalade was managed with but little loss. Our casualties on the occasion were about ten killed and thirty-five wounded.

This affair was rendered remarkable by the sad death of two valuable officers, both of whom were accidentally shot; the one in the assault and the other after it. One of them, Captain Lambert, of the Royal Engineers, was on the scaling-ladder ascending the wall, followed by two sailors. The rifle of the lower one, from some unexplained cause, being probably at full cock, went off: the ball, after passing through the water-bottle hung at the waist of the man above him, entered poor Lambert's

which shattered the bone and dividing the femoral artery. He died in a few hours. The other officer was Danvers, who had come from India, fresh from Havelock's campaign and the relief of Lucknow. A party of gun Lascars attached to the Royal Artillery were ordered to discharge their arms after the fighting was all over. One of the bullets passed through the body of Danvers, killing him on the spot.

The city contained within the walls was small, and entirely of a military character. It was destroyed by fire, but the suburb was spared. The coolies obtained some plunder on the occasion, and for a long time after, the mention of Namtow called up a chuckle, and the exclamation, "Namtow, number one, can do, ah!"

One or two thirsty soldiers found some samshu in the suburbs, and having taken more than was prudent, were unable to return to their quarters. They were found lying on the floor of a house, enveloped in a fishing-net, which the owners had warily thrown over them as a precautionary measure against probable acts of violence when they woke up. A coolie who had deserted from our force some time before, was found here and shot. We were told that what they specially wished to be taught was to make macintosh coats, and to perform the military evolution of forming square. They could scarcely learn anything which would be of less use to them in the way of drill. It was their open order skirmishing which saved them from loss every time they came in contact with us.

By the end of August I suppose matters were considered quiet, for on the 26th Pih-kwei's guard was removed, and he was again at large. He issued a proclamation, announcing that his three months' sick leave

having expired, he was now about to reassume the government.

The capture of Namtow seemed to have a good effect, and affairs looked again more quiet and settled; the city gates, which had for a time been closed, were reopened for general traffic. Nevertheless, the Hong Kong servants had to get leave to go off and be taxed, duly returning at the expiration of the period.

CHAPTER VII.

Albert Smith visits Canton—Chinese pigs—Street scenes—Performing birds—
The currency—Sale by weight—Sobriety of Chinese—General humiliation
days—Chinese picquet—The bonzes on the White Cloud Mountains—The
compass and native maps.

By September, having been nine months in Canton, we began to take things much as a matter of course, and to cease to see wonders in the sights daily before us. But for those who were fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of poor Albert Smith, who came up at that time, a new lease of enjoyment, and appreciation of all the strange sights around, was entered upon. What a pleasure it was to walk in the streets with him ! He had such a keen sense of the ludicrous. He appeared to possess an unerring instinct which guided him to whatever was most strange and worthy of observation. All the sights were novel to him, as they had but a few months before been to us. He was particularly amused with the poulterers' and butchers' shops, where hung, stretched out in the most whimsical forms of fantastic agony, the dried ducks and rats, and the wonderful pigs' faces, not split into two profiles as with us, but flattened out so as to be perfectly round and disgustingly human. The pigs which were intended to be eaten were very carefully kept up and fed. I have seen rooms full of them which would have done credit to any model farm ; lofty airy apartments, paved with tiles laid at a considerable slope, and

the floor washed and kept as clean as it could possibly be; the pigs all fed on corn, and looking in the most perfect condition.

It was long before we would eat pork, for the only specimens which we saw were the old brood sows, either disgustingly corpulent, or repulsively gaunt and lean, followed by a numerous young family, taught by her peripatetic movements to cater for themselves amongst the choice morsels of refuse which not unfrequently occurred. We only saw the old mother and the babies out at exercise; so I presume that as soon as the young had acquired the power of shifting for themselves, they were summarily deprived of the opportunity of exercising it, and were taken up to be converted into good wholesome pork.

There was a temple at Honam, a suburb of Canton, on the opposite side of the river to the city, where there was a styful of pigs, commonly called the "sacred pigs." Here they were to be maintained for life: some had already attained the age of upwards of twenty years: they were immensely fat; yet nevertheless their skins still seemed too large for them, especially about their faces, which were hideously corrugated and disgusting. Whence they derived this immunity from the law of slaughter as common to pigs, or what title they had to the term "sacred," I never could find out; but there they were, safe, sound, and dirty, secure of plenty to eat as long as they could find their way to the trough, to which power there certainly appeared to be a limit, or rather two—extreme corpulence, and loss of sight. More than one of the beasts appeared blind, either from age or fat, and with such an indisposition to locomotion as had very much the appearance of a disability.

Whilst wandering over the precincts of this temple one day with Albert Smith, we stopped to watch an itinerant mender of crockery, who was ingeniously riveting together the fragments of a saucer of the commonest description; it really looked hardly worth mending. However, it was ultimately completed, and the payment tendered, amounting, I believe, to three cash; but the workman demanded five, and an altercation ensued, which lasted longer than the operation had done, and it ended in his taking out all his rivets again, and the proprietor of the bits of saucer carrying off his property to seek some cheaper man.

The smallness of the value of the current coin seems to me to be an indication of the extreme cheapness of the articles necessary to Chinese life. I particularise Chinese life, for I think their indispensable wants are very few. It is absurd to see the small parcels of fish, flesh, or fowl, put out and marked like the toys in a bazaar: "All this lot two cash each," and so on. You see the dried head of a duck split in two, giving with extreme impartiality the half of each mandible to the different lots, each being laid out as sufficient for the dinner of one man. I have frequently seen a person returning home with the materials for his dinner just purchased, consisting of a handful of rice and the webbed foot of a duck—all above the joint being reserved for a more wealthy purchaser. Their fragments of dried fish are similarly minute; but as this is what I think may fairly be called "high dried," I dare say a little of it goes a long way in giving a flavour to the otherwise insipid boiled rice.

In many of the streets are stone cisterns, in which fish are kept alive; sometimes you see fine large carp, weighing eight or ten pounds. You can go and

scramble for one, have him weighed alive and kicking, suspended by a strip of bamboo tie passed through his gills, and buy him if you like, or turn him loose again, none the worse. They seem to be careful of two things in order to keep the fish alive : first, not to clean out the cisterns, which become lined with a green weed ; and second, to keep the water running, by means of a bamboo spout through which the water runs into a jar, which, when full, is emptied back again. They do not appear to care so much for change of water, as to have it just moving : no doubt it gets partially aërated by trickling out and being poured back again, and so better fitted for the requirements of the fish.

Tubs with live dace stand round the fish-seller's stall ; they seem to live on a wonderfully small amount of water, their backs being hardly covered ; but these, I think, are killed in time *to save their lives*, and scotched in the most wonderful light-handed way by the fishmonger, who uses for the operation a cleaver nearly large enough to kill an ox. He then splits them up lengthways, and by way of completing their attractiveness, smears the whole surface with the blood of the fish. This, my friend Murphy informed me, was the way of showing the buyer its freshness, as he said. " You know that the fish would not bleed unless it was killed when it was alive."

Besides the dealers in eatables, who have their stalls in the streets, which, by-the-way, are all additional to the regular shops on each side of the street, there are vendors of every other article which any one might be expected to buy. Even the medical man does not consider it beneath his dignity, or that of his profession, to sit out under a bamboo umbrella, surrounded by a perfect grove of branches of medicinal shrubs and

bundles of dried herbs. Not far from him sits a dentist, having in front of him a table with uprights attached, over the summit of which threads are passed, on which hang in graceful festoons, the trophies of his skill and might in every variety, forming an object of disgust to the uninterested, and of terror to the poor victim.

The wandering barber roams about with his curious stand, consisting of basin on the top, and hot-water kettle beneath, boiled by a charcoal fire; also a drawer in which his instruments are contained. The razor is much shorter than ours, and broader in the blade—a rude hatchet-shaped tool, but with which they make uncommonly clean work; cutting off a week or ten days' growth of hair from the shaven part of the head as easily as possible, and without the use of soap or anything but warm water. In saying instruments, I speak advisedly, for besides razors he has many cunning probes and sharp-pointed cutting weapons, with which he wages war on any truant hairs to be found growing surreptitiously in the patient's ears, which he irritates, and tickles, and soothes with a fine brush in a wonderful way. I have heard that the nerves of the ears are irritated in this way as a mode of treatment in cases of sore eyes—a very common malady among the Chinese, induced much, I believe, by poor living, a want of animal food, and a superfluity of rice. However, be the causes what they may, sore eyes are disagreeably common. It is curious to see whole families, or at all events collections of blind people of different ages, going through the streets in a string, each one with the hands on the shoulder of the one before—a string of perhaps half a dozen being led by a child. Asylums for the blind are provided at

Canton, supported by the Government, which circumstance may account for the number of persons in that condition, to be met with in the city. Latterly their funds, like those of the foundling asylum, had fallen off very much, and when we entered the city they were very far below what they should have been.

There are stalls to be seen in the streets, occupied apparently by vendors of charms; the collection being varied enough to furnish a cure for every malady under the sun. I noticed the jaw-bone of a tiger, a monkey's skull, bits of discarded snake-skin, dried lizards, bits of bone and metal, and scraps of paper with writing on them, and a thousand things to which it would be hard to give a name. One of these men had in a cage some live cobras, and they caused much diversion; the amusement consisting of poking them with a stick until they were made angry, when they would elevate and extend their hood on each side, something like an Elizabethan lady's ruff, and put out their forked tongues with a vicious expression such as I hope never was seen to proceed from the ruff in question.

Performing birds proved another object of interest, a sort of bullfinch-looking bird, which sat on the finger, and when a cash was thrown in the air would dart after it, catch it before it fell, and bring it to his master, —a directly remunerative exhibition, as you see. The same bird would look for a piece of money placed within a pack of cards, striking the point of the bill between the two cards where the money was hidden, the coin being invariably transferred to the pocket of the exhibitor, and fresh ones contributed by the spectators for every trick. The bird was rewarded at the close of each successful performance by a grain of hempseed.

I have often spoken of the "cash;" it is the current

coin of the country, larger payments being made in lumps of silver, commonly cast into shapes something like a shoe, and stamped with their weight. In places such as Canton, where foreigners abound, the dollar obtains currency, and is much used. The value of the cash is about one thousand to the dollar; they vary in quality, and some are as low as twelve hundred to the dollar. They are round, and about the size of a farthing, perforated in the centre with a square hole. They are tied together in bundles of one hundred, by a string passed through the holes, and this bunch is called a mace. You may consider it approximately as a decimal system. 100 cash, 1 mace; 10 mace, 1 dollar: or, 10 cash, 1 cent; 10 cents, 1 mace; 10 mace, 1 dollar. The change for a dollar, being ten of these strings, resembles a few pounds of sausages more than anything else.

When you go out shopping, the first thing to do is to hire a boy to carry your money, which he generally wears like a necklace. It is advisable to count the number of cash in a mace, as you frequently find not more than eighty; a deficiency which the money-changer explains away, by assuring you they are "number one cash," or cash of the first quality. Should you desire silver in change instead of these coins, the shop-keeper will chop a bit off your dollar, weigh the pieces, and adjust the bargain by means of little bits of silver like the trimmings from a bullet-mould. The weights and scales are continually in use by both buyer and seller: they appear to adopt the standard of weight generally in estimating the value of all kinds of things. I once observed a great bargain being made for a three-legged stool, which the would-be purchaser was weighing in a disparaging manner.

Such a direct and obvious system of valuation must present great charms to the practical minds of the Chinese. The legend which exists at Gibraltar with regard to the feeding of pigs in the cork wood reveals a system so simple and straightforward as to be quite worthy of China. It is said that the steward of the Duke who owns that property is charged with the management of the feeding grounds for the pigs of the country, which at certain seasons of the year are turned into the forest to feed on the acorns. His plan of securing a proper payment for the value received, is to weigh and mark each pig on its arrival, noting the weight, and doing the same on its departure, the owner having to pay so much a pound for the increase.

In all the bargaining and discussion, it was rare to see ill-temper displayed. The mass of the people are wonderfully docile and goodhumoured; and when one considers that they possess a spirit peculiarly ardent, and of which they are very fond, it is striking and edifying to observe how very rarely cases of drunkenness come under notice. Canton was a city peculiarly likely to show badly in respect of sobriety, being virtually, though not actually, a sea-port, containing, at the time of our occupation of it, a very mixed population, and liable to bad examples from foreigners of all nations; yet one might walk through the streets day after day without ever meeting with a drunken Chinese. Could we say the same of Liverpool? I hope they thought that the prevalence of intemperance amongst the foreigners was not so much from vice, as a quality inseparable from the untameable disposition of the barbarian.

I think that at last they began to understand us pretty well, and knew what we wanted, and what we

were determined to have. They seemed to make a study of us, as we should of some new beast; they would watch our habits and customs, and try to discover our mode of reasoning, and the working of our minds; indeed, we often hear of officials being spoken of as "fitted for foreign affairs, from understanding the barbarian," and being "skilled in the management of the barbarian." It was rather curious to see how, when a native official passed, they would, after their fashion of showing respect, pull down their pigtails, which are frequently worn tied up in a knot; whereas with us, finding we were not so strict in the matter, they soon neglected to testify their submission in this way. Longley, the archbishop's son, used to deplore this, and fear we lost caste by allowing the neglect of the custom; so he instituted what he called "general humiliation days," when he paraded the streets, and made every one he met pull down his tail as he passed.

By November the extreme heat had passed, and we were able again to get out into the country, which was now quiet, though in the neighbourhood of "Mong Kong" and "Shek-tsin" there was known to be a force of braves. When I went any distance surveying, I was provided with a Chinese officer, who accompanied me in his sedan-chair, in order to insure respect being paid to the foreigner, and to show to the people that friendly relations existed between the nations. This gentleman's name was "Wong-kok-ah." He must have been dreadfully bored by the duty, for my employment led me up and down the highest hills, and across the roughest country, where he used to follow me conscientiously at first, and much to the distress of his coolies; but latterly he found it quite sufficient to mount an eminence in a

central position, from which he could keep a watch on my movements.

I did not think he was of very much use, and at last the practice was discontinued. However, one day he was turned to account. A party of us walked out on the north plain with him, and approached a mat shed used as a picquet house for the most advanced post of the "Shek-tsin" braves. As soon as we were seen the soldiers fled incontinently, leaving behind, their flags, their ammunition, and their dinners. We examined the place, but refrained from molesting anything. A few days later I had occasion to go there again, and, to provide against accidents, took about a dozen men as a guard, and a brother officer. On nearing the post, we saw the soldiers sitting outside the hut, and great crowds of people standing round a roadside tea-house which stood near. I halted the men about three hundred yards off, and, taking the arm of "Wong-kok-ah" in a friendly manner, proposed to him to go and visit the post. He was much alarmed apparently, and made great protestations, pointing to the place and going through a pantomime expressive of shooting, illustrated by cries of "Boom, boom." However, I was determined he should come; so, having got him out of his chair, I kept tight hold of his arm, and walked him along the road. As we got nearer, we observed that the soldiers were sitting on boxes and bundles outside the shed—such boxes as they keep their clothes in. As we approached they got in a great bustle; but when we turned off the road up the little hill on which they were, they seized their boxes and bundles of bedding, and away they went to the village in their rear as hard as they could scamper. On entering we found the place empty, everything evidently having been packed up

in anticipation of our visit. We then returned to the road, and Wong-kok-ah addressed the assembled crowd.

In a few minutes, the fugitives having probably made their report at home, we heard the gong and tom-toms being beaten in the village, at which sound our audience melted away, either from the fear of getting into a scrape, or perhaps, having been enrolled in this kind of militia, they were bound to assemble at the village on the alarm being sounded. We saw men turning out with shields and arms; but, as we did not go on, they soon went back again. The only explanation Wong could give of it was, "There is one captain inside the city, and another captain outside." This post was shortly after abandoned. I do not know that they ever occupied it after that day.

The camp at "Sam-po-huey," which we had visited in June, was not renewed, and to the eastward of the city we were able to wander about unmolested. We paid many visits to the bonzes* on the White Cloud Mountains. We one day made a present of a little brandy to the junior brother, and on the occasion of a subsequent visit he asked for more; but the senior bonze immediately began gesticulating in disapproval of the request, and went through a little pantomime, in which he reeled and tumbled about, punched his own head, and finally knocked himself down flat on the floor, probably illustrating the behaviour of his junior towards him on the occasion of the last brandy drinking. Of course we respected his scruples, and looked much shocked at the delinquent.

I took up on one occasion a visitor who had come to our quarters from Hong Kong: he was a clerk in one of the government offices, and dressed in plain

* Buddhist priests.

clothes. They asked what he was : we found some little difficulty in explaining, so the bonze suggested—was he a soldier, a sailor, a merchant, or a padre ? No, we said, he was none of these. The man appeared completely puzzled : he had named, probably, the only professions which he thought we possessed. Really that list would comprise most of the Europeans in China. At length, after much reflection, his face brightened up—he had evidently found it out. “My savey, my savey,” he cried, “he truly supercargo !”

The young bonze, if shown a compass, would take it and look at the sun, and pretend to tell the time : he certainly made very close guesses. The compass is very common with them, and they combine it very neatly with the sun-dial. The compass is in a little square box, the lid of which opens back, but is prevented doing so to its full extent, by a string attached to the centre fastening of the box : this string is of such a length as to form, when the lid lies back, the complement of the latitude, or the proper angle for the gnomon of a sun-dial. Round the rims of the box the hours are marked off. To find the hour, you have only to open the box, set the gnomon north and south by the compass, and see where the shadow of the string cuts the rim. I do not know whether they understand the variation of the compass, but on the coast of China it is at present very trifling.

They have also a much more complicated contrivance of the same sort for telling the hour by the shadow cast by the moon.

They sell in the shops travelling fans for different roads, a rough plan of the country being drawn on the fan, by which, with the aid of the compass, they travel. It is necessary to understand their signs well, to profit

by the native maps, for they have a way of skipping over the uninteresting parts of the road, jumping from one leading mark to another without leaving much clue as to the intermediate distance. Any accuracy of scale in their plans is of course not to be expected. They appeared to understand, or rather appreciate, the method of surveying with the compass adopted by our officers, but my servant told me they did not quite like it, as they looked upon it in some sort as a basis for a system of future taxation.



SCENE ON THE CANTON RIVER.

CHAPTER VIII.

Visit to the Pratas shoals—The wreckers—Offerings to the Joss presiding over shipwreck—Roast pig *à-la-Chinoise*—Chinese pilotage.

TOWARDS the end of November I had an opportunity of visiting a real desert island—that mysterious scene so dear to one's imagination by the record of Robinson Crusoe. I hardly know if I ought to call it a desert island, as it was occasionally visited; still Robinson Crusoe's island was visited by the natives, who came to eat their prisoners there, so we will let the term stand.

There is a coral reef about one hundred and sixty miles E.S.E. of Hong Kong, known well to eastern navigators and ship-insurance offices by the name of the Pratas shoal. An idea was entertained of erecting a lighthouse to warn ships of the danger; and, in order to obtain more accurate information than was possessed, with regard to the practicability of the scheme, I was sent with a party of men, with tools for boring, to examine the spot and report on it.

The N.E. monsoon was blowing hard as we steamed across in the "Cormorant" to look for the little island, and great caution had to be exercised in approaching the spot on account of the dangerous nature of the shoals, and the very strong currents which are said to set towards them, causing the loss of many and many a ship, when the captain had been considering himself far out of danger. It is said that vessels have been taken sixty miles out of their course in twenty-four

hours, the set being usually from West to East, but uncertain both as to strength and direction.

We made out the little hump of land, and the white circle of breakers, on the afternoon of the day after we left, but could not with safety approach within two miles and a half of the shore, where we anchored. It became evident that to conduct the examination in a satisfactory way, a smaller vessel was required, as, in the weather which was met with, it would be imprudent, as well as inconvenient, to send away the boats loaded with stores to such a distance from the ship; and they would be likely to get into strong currents, where the shoalness of the water would prevent the steamer offering any assistance or support; so, after sounding round the ship, and examining the approach to the island, it was considered best to return at once to Hong Kong for a gun-boat, in which men and stores could be safely transported to smooth water under the lee of the land.

This we did, and a few days later returned to the spot in the "Fury," having towed the gun-boat "Firm" after us with such goodwill as to give her a dancing and her crew a ducking such as they had not had for some time.

On this occasion we did not make so quick a passage of it, and, arriving off the shoals towards evening, we were forced to stand off till daylight. In the morning we approached to within three miles and a half of the island, and anchored, when we transferred ourselves to the "Firm," and went slowly in, to within four hundred yards of the shore, where we anchored in ten feet of water. As we came in over the shoal, we could see the bottom very plainly; a beautiful white sand, with excrescences of coral standing up in patches all over

it. The water here was quite smooth, as we were to leeward of the island, and we could see by the surf breaking over the curved line of the reef, how the rolling sea, lifted by the strong N.E. wind, was broken up by the rocks, and how fearful and hopeless must be the case of a vessel carried by wind and current helplessly against this dreadful spot—as it were the demon of the surrounding ocean, attracting and devouring all that approached it.

The form of the reef is like a horse-shoe, the toe being the point exposed to the north. The island is in situation like a small frog to the foot. The shoe is the reef, the space inside, a shallow lagoon, available for junks and small vessels. The island is in shape like a tooth with two fangs, the space between the two being very shallow; I should think not over two or three feet deep. The length of the reef from toe to heel is, if I remember right, fourteen miles, the length of the island about one mile, and the width across the fangs perhaps half a mile. The part of the tooth which would be above the gum is composed of sand-hills, in places thirty feet high. The fangs are low sandy spits. The "Fury" was anchored behind the heel of the horse's foot, and we in the gun-boat were close in under the frog. The water all round the heel is shallow, and patched with coral, though the breakers do not close round on that side.

Very soon after leaving the "Fury," we got into water in which she would not have been able to float. Anchored in what I have termed the lagoon, we found four junks belonging to a party of wreckers. They were laden with copper, which had been got, by burning and other methods, off the hulls and timbers of such vessels as were cast on the rocks. One of these boats

had lately taken into Hong Kong ten men of the crew of a brig called the "Arrow," which had lately been wrecked there. By the way, the wreckers had to come before the court at Hong Kong to make good their claim to a reward for taking these men there. It appeared that a bargain had been struck as to the price for which they would convey the shipwrecked men from this desert island to Hong Kong, and when the service was performed, they refused to pay the money, or, at all events, the entire sum; but I believe the Chinese proved the bargain and gained the cause. It would have been a bad thing for future shipwrecked mariners had the decision gone against them.

Within the last few years many had been the vessels lost here. As we landed, we found the beach strewn with pieces of wrecks; huge bleached ribs and fragments of keels, looking like the bones of great monsters of the deep. And just as I stepped from the boat on to the shore, there lay at my feet a scrap of paper, on which were little pencil drawings traced by the hand of a child, with baby-words written in round large letters. How strange to find so frail, so innocent and touching a memorial of the little child, lying unharmed amidst the ruin wrought upon the strong and mighty ship—the only trace of a human victim left on this desolate, storm-lashed spot!

Empty chests, which had contained opium, were strewn about on the beach; such portions of their valuable contents as had not been injured by the water having no doubt gone to enrich the hardy wreckers, to whom in a stormy season the reef must be a perfect mine of wealth.

The hilly part of the island is thickly covered with vegetation, of which the nature is strangely divided,

there being apparently two distinct classes of wood on two nearly equal portions of the island.

On the east side the sand-hills are covered with a plant which grows to a height of from three to eight feet; the wood is brittle and tender, like the stalk of the cabbage; the leaf also, though smaller and thicker than the cabbage-leaf, is very much like it, and grows in a tufty way at the ends of the branches. The whole forms a mass so thick as to be perfectly impervious.

There is a quantity of long coarse grass, such as we are accustomed to see growing on sandy banks near the sea. The soil is entirely composed of fine white coral sand mixed with larger fragments of the coral, some of which, with their delicate pink cells, look like tiny fairy grottoes.

The other portion of the sand-hills is covered with trees, which grow to a height of perhaps twenty-five feet, together with a jungle or underwood of a harder wood than the cabbage-plant. The trees have a stunted and weatherbeaten aspect, and many appear to be of a great age. In rambling through this thicket, which is not nearly so dense as the cabbage wood, we found the ground strewn with remains of old dead trees and fallen limbs, while round living and dead alike, twined in luxuriant masses the most beautiful convolvuli. I did not recognize any English trees, indeed I seldom did so anywhere in China. There was one, however, which might have been a horse-chestnut, but it had no leaves, so I was not sure about it. The decayed vegetable matter has produced a mould here, which is fine and black, but the crust very thin; still it seems to support a good deal of vegetation.

Attempts have been made to get animals to live, and eatable vegetables to grow on the island, for the support

of such persons as might be cast on shore, but I believe with no great result. Melons and pumpkins ought to grow, I fancy. The total absence of fresh water, except what comes from rain and dew, would make it difficult to support animal life, even if the creatures were allowed by the wreckers to multiply. One day a sailor noticed a black pig running into the wood. I saw its footmarks in the sand, and it seemed to be a very large one. I believe a few were sent, with some ducks and poultry, from Hong Kong some time ago. The ducks would, I fancy, grow wild and fly off, and the poultry would pine for want of food, as I saw no signs of any corn or grain.


The sea-shore was infested with rats, whose burrows gave the sand the appearance of a rabbit warren. These poor shipwrecked animals would doubtless welcome the poultry as a most opportune offering. Poor beasts!—there may be rats from all nations there, doomed to live and die and colonize the island, without the remotest hope of ever getting away. I wonder whether they attack and kill new rats; or are they deteriorated specimens, and eaten up by the new comers? Does Robinson Crusoe kill the black men, or the black men Robinson Crusoe?

I saw footprints in the sand like those of a rabbit, which, with the pig and the rats, were the only signs of quadrupeds we could discover. We found a few scorpions, but no snakes. On the beach were flocks of sandpipers, dotterell, golden and grey plover; in the tufted grass were larks, and a few little birds flew about in the wood, while small hawks hovered over the island; great tyrants, no doubt, amongst their fellow-prisoners.

But the most amusing birds were the gannet, which

used to sit up in rows on the beach, quietly digesting their dinners. On the approach of a man they tried to fly, but found themselves incapable of the exertion. They immediately began to lighten themselves by disgorging their semi-digested food, and fluttered along to the water, leaving a fishy track as they went. Having once gained the sea, they could manage to rise pretty well. It was great fun stalking a party of them, and when sufficiently close, dashing in among them and cutting them off from the sea, and watching their helpless distress. When driven from the water it was easy to catch them. Some which the sailors caught were brought on board, and they sat in a helpless way on the deck, never attempting to rise, and being continually attacked with horrid fits of sea sickness. If thrown up into the air, or put in the water, they were all right, and went off, inclined, I trust, to eat their next dinner with more moderation.

On the north side of the island was a joss-house erected by the Chinese; no doubt you will think to commemorate the saving of some junk's crew in peril of shipwreck, or as a propitiation to Joss on behalf of such vessels as might be in danger. But, no! the decorations inside proved the real intention of the building; it was indeed to propitiate Joss, but with a view to his casting vessels on the reef, in order that they might be plundered; for the whole place was decorated with effigies of western ships, two-deckers, steamers, both paddle and screw, or, in Chinese phraseology, "outside walkee" and "inside walkee" vessels of all classes; "three piecey," "two and a half piecey," and "two piecey;" that is, ships, barques, and brigs, or schooners. Here were they all hung as offerings; some perhaps as invoking future favours, others as a



thank-offering for favours already received. I wonder was the little child's ship represented among them?


A curious coincidence occurred with regard to this temple, corroborative of Charles Lamb's well-known story about the origin of roast pig.

The evening before our departure from the island we saw the crews of the junks land; carrying with them a pig which they bore on their shoulders in procession, as we had often seen in Canton. I believe it is done on the occasion of periodical visits to the graves of their friends, when eatables and drinkables are taken and left near the tomb, for the sustenance of the spirit. However, be that as it may, here was the pig, killed and scraped, and apparently fit for cooking. After a lapse of time, smoke was seen rising over the trees, and in the course of the evening the men came back, went on board their junks, but without the pig. Next morning we went to look at the joss-house, but it was gone; a heap of smoking embers were all that remained of it; propitiatory offerings, and all that it contained, were alike destroyed. Had the sacrilegious wreckers cooked the pig for their own festivities by the only means available on the spot, or was it for their friend's spirit? Let us hope that the offended Joss, in permitting the destruction of the offerings, showed that henceforth he would no longer aid and abet in the destruction they revelled in; and that the Pratas shoal be thenceforward no longer the terror of storm-tossed seamen. Whether a great reliance was placed on this hope in influential quarters I know not, but there is no lighthouse on the island: perhaps it is now no longer wanted.

The junks left about the same time that we did. Their system of pilotage was amusing. As I said

before, the water was so clear that the bottom was plainly visible, and the white, fine sand easily distinguished from the darker patches of coral. It would be perhaps possible, with a fair wind, to thread your way through the patches without passing over any, if a good look-out was kept ahead. For this purpose a man was put right up at the top of the foremast, absolutely at the truck, where he half sat, and half clung, and from whence he sung out steering directions to the man at the helm, whilst two others, provided with long bamboos, one on each bow, called out the soundings. If the junk should ever happen to bump on a rock, the look-out man must inevitably be precipitated from his elevated perch over the bows of the vessel. It would be hard to devise a system of responsibility more calculated to insure careful pilotage.

They are very hardy boatmen, venturing out in bad weather with great confidence in their craft. I believe that on board our ships they are averse to going aloft, but make very good boats' crews. They always look much more clean and orderly about a ship, than the lascars one meets everywhere in the East.



CHAPTER IX.

Chinese artists—The dry season—Paper hunts, and their dangers—Expedition into the country—Capture of Shek-tsin—Kong-tsun fair—Destruction of military buildings at Shek-tsin.

FOR the visitor to Hong Kong, one of the things to do, is to go round the native artists' studios: he will be struck with their execution in oil colours. There is a want of proper texture about their paintings, and an absence of knowledge of the niceties of art; but, all things considered, there is really merit in many of them. They are fond of making paintings from favourite prints, and sell a great number: they do also a considerable trade in portrait-painting, in which they are not so successful. If you present yourself as a subject, you are asked the preliminary question, "How you likey? You likey handsome, you likey likey?" You naturally reply that you wish the portrait to be like you; but woe betide you if, after that announcement, you object to the picture on the score of its ugliness. It is said that a sitter once ventured to do so: the aggrieved artist turned round to the collected audience, and with upraised hands exclaimed, in expostulatory tones, "Suppose no have got handsome, how can?" Great was the sympathy evinced for the aggrieved artist, and overwhelming the confusion of the caricatured sitter.


It is an erroneous idea to suppose that Chinese only

draw in a delicate, finnikin way, as one sees on those rice-paper pictures commonly brought to this country. They are a libel on the artistic powers of the people. Many of their drawings, especially those in Indian ink, have great breadth, and a boldness of execution for which, till seen, one would never give them credit. It is strange, that though they draw birds, insects, fish, and flowers with great spirit and truth, yet I think I never saw a drawing of a quadruped that was not grotesque.

They appear to have a strong appreciation of beauty in form, and in some of their old sketches, drawn for themselves, and not for foreigners, they seem to have studied the lines of their trees and figures, and combined them into very graceful and pretty compositions. They appear to have a strong spice of refinement, and an elegant and sometimes whimsical way of finding a vent to their feelings in the expression of some ideal beauty floating through their minds. Thus the artist will draw, and find purchasers for a sketch containing nothing beyond three or four blades of grass prettily intertwined, or a single branch of bamboo, or a faint outline of a draped human figure, the effect of the combination of lines being the sole merit of the sketch.

There is something refined and pleasing in seeing a grown-up man out walking on a fine day, carrying in his hand a cage containing his singing bird, to which he chirrup as he walks, with the affection of a fond nurse proud of the baby. This is his way of enjoying himself. One can imagine such a man appreciating whatever is most beautiful in nature or in art.

The art or practice of calligraphy is carried to a high pitch. Specimens of writing are hung as pictures round a room. These are indeed often literary proverbs and profound or devout sentences; but still the



style in which these are written gives them a great value. Large gilt characters on blue boards decorate the interiors of the temples, and it is strange to see the labour expended on them. Of course the obvious thing would be to procure the board, and, if the inscription was required to be in relief, to stick on the characters with glue, or by means of counter-sunk screws; but in many which we examined we found that the whole surface was cut down, leaving the inscription in relief as for a woodcut, and involving an immense amount of labour, the space between the characters being worked down as smoothly as the original planed surface. I believe that the only way they have of printing is by the method of woodcutting. We found a great number of blocks in Canton, each forming a sheet of some favourite work.

In the winter the country is dry, the second crop of rice being got in about September; the first is cut about April or May. Some of the land is cropped a third time in the winter, but no rice is sown then. However, the greater part of the land is left fallow, except immediately round the villages, where cabbages and other vegetables are conveniently cultivated. There is some seed sown at this season, which they dibble in with feathers and hair, the latter being the proceeds of the industry of the barber. The sower goes round with two bags, the one containing the seed and the other this mixture; he makes a hole, puts in a little seed and then a pinch of hair, and covers it up again. It must be remembered that the poorer classes do not have their heads shaved anything like every day, so that what comes off is of really an appreciable length; and a barber in large practice, I dare say, contributes substantially to the fertility of the soil.

This dry state of country was very pleasant to us at Canton ; for instead of having to stick to the narrow paths between the paddy fields, many of them flagged with smooth granite slabs, we were now enabled to ride all over the country without doing any harm, and paper hunts became the order of the day ; in which the ponies were taught a new lesson, not without some disasters to their instructors.

There was one element of danger really in these rides besides that of occasional spills, and that was the bad temper of some of the water buffaloes—those great lead-coloured, hairless, high-shouldered beasts, with long raking-back horns, such as we saw in the Crimea, and which, I believe, are found all over the East. Some of these had calves, and most of them had an antipathy to red cloth, which put many of us in peril during our rides.

On one occasion the hares, or paper-carriers, whom we sent out in couples, came upon a very savage buffalo, who charged them. We generally used to ride at the beasts and halloo, which usually made them turn aside. One of our mounted hares did this, but not a bit would the old beast swerve, and it was only by the quick hand of the rider that a serious collision was avoided : as it was, the pony got a scratch. Away sped the paper scatterers, plentifully showering it in the buffalo ground, and in a short time up came the field in hot pursuit, numbering many scarlet jackets. The already irritated old bull immediately charged, scattered the horsemen, and settling down on two of them, gave them as much as they could do to keep out of his reach. The run was very exciting, and the pace great. The buffalo, being fresh, had the best of it, and was nearing the hunted would-be hunters, when straight across

their path came a deep drop. There was no time to turn—the beast was close behind—down they went both head over heels, ponies, men, and all in a sad mess. On came the old bull, too fast to stop himself, and over he fell at their side. As the men got up bewildered, and not knowing what to do next, you can imagine their relief at seeing the great beast, who from his weight had been half stunned, pick himself up, shake his head, and sneak off without troubling himself further about them.

The same dry state of the country which permitted these amusements, enabled the General to send the troops out for marches into the country. A battalion of marines which went out one day approached Mong Kong, where we had been caught pic-nicking in the spring. Just as we had done, they were settling down to eat their dinners, when a Chinese force suddenly appeared. Some of the officers were riding forward to see what it meant, when bang came the jingall shot at them, very speedily showing what was intended. Our troops were got under arms. But it must have been rather puzzling for the commanding officer to know what to do; for it was impossible to say what diplomatic results a renewal of hostilities might have, after the proclamation of peace. However, he remained on the defensive, prevented any advance by the enemy until he retired, and then he retraced his steps to Canton, firing as he went, so as to keep them from pressing on his rear; thus putting them entirely in the wrong, and only engaging in the fight as far as was necessary.

It must be remembered that I have rather forestalled events in speaking of the Fayuen Committee and their doings. We were not at this time so well acquainted with the source of these hostilities: so that poor old

- Pih-kwei was again questioned as to the apparent double dealing of his Government; but he protested in the most emphatic manner that he was perfectly guiltless of any treacherous feeling towards us, and that his own instructions received from Peking would not warrant him in treating us with anything but respect and friendship. I believe he even went so far as to suggest that we should resent the insult; at all events, he did not offer any remonstrance to the expression of our intention of doing so. We went through the form of inviting him to join in our expedition, in order to show that we were not acting in any spirit of hostility to the Government; but he replied to the effect, that he would rather go with us in spirit than in person. It was next suggested that he should send an imperial flag out with us, to denote the unity of feeling between ourselves and him, and that these rebels or braves should see that, in acting aggressively towards us, they were acting in a manner obnoxious to their own Government. However, Pih-kwei discreetly refrained from interfering in any way: he considered it quite sufficient evidence of his friendly relations with us to pat us on the back, and urge us to go in and win; shielding himself from responsibility in the matter, on the plea, that as we had taken the power into our own hands, so must we administer the law. He went so far, indeed, as to send out one of his officers with us, who, however, managed to bolt as soon as we got outside the North gate.

It was at length arranged that we should go out and take the Shek-tsin position, which it was agreed on all hands was the head-quarters of the Mong-Kong party, being distant from that place some two or three miles. The ground was well looked over from the top

of the White Cloud Mountains, and we were fortunate enough, when there, to see some guns fired at a naval reconnoitring party, which enabled us to fix with certainty the position of some of their batteries.

Shek-tsin is situated on a low ridge, perhaps one hundred feet high, at the foot of which runs a river, at that point about sixty yards wide, and five or six feet deep, which drains a great portion of the north plain, as well as a section of the valley east of the White Clouds. This stream, after running in a south-westerly direction for about three miles, enters the northern branch of the Canton River, about three miles and a half, north of the city. Thus we may consider the Canton River running from west to east. The city of Canton, approximately a square of a mile and a half side, standing on this base. A little west of Canton, comes down the north branch of the river, running due north and south, and therefore at right angles to the main river. At a distance of five miles up this branch, the Shek-tsin River enters it. Three miles up this stream, on a ridge which runs along the west bank, is situated Shek-tsin. The space between Canton and Shek-tsin is a plain of paddy, dotted over with villages, backed, as I have before said, by groves of trees or thickets of bamboo, and slightly broken by a chain of low hills, which rendered Shek-tsin invisible from the plain. It was on these hills, near Seu-kong, that the braves had their advanced picquet, which was withdrawn after my second visit to it with "Wong-kok-ah."

The importance of Shek-tsin as a position, arises from the fine stone bridge which there spans the river, and it consequently commands all the roads running due north from Canton, and passing over the bridge, of which that leading to Fayuen is one.

The defences consisted of a *tête du pont* containing guns, and with a wet ditch, on our side of the bridge. And as the only approach to it, when the country was flooded, was along a straight raised causeway, which it completely raked for a distance of half a mile, this in itself might be made a formidable obstacle. On the other side of the river was a battery of ten guns, which also fired right down the road; and to the east, or on the enemy's left, they had about four hundred yards above the bridge, and on our side of the river, a battery of five guns, which flanked the others. They had also batteries below the bridge, looking down the stream, to check any attack by water, and the river was seen to be staked in places, for the same reason. The plan of attack was to combine the action of the gun-boats up the river, with a direct attack on the bridge.

Accordingly, on the 8th January, the gun-boats moved up, and we marched out from the city, the force having been divided into two columns, which took different roads; to prevent the delay occasioned by marching in a long trailing line, as we were mostly obliged to do from the nature of the roads, and from a desire not to injure the crops. At the Picquet-house Hill, there being a space of uncultivated ground, we met and formed in order for the advance. The French were on the right; our Engineers were on the extreme left; a detachment of the Royals formed the advanced guard, in rear of whom moved the main body. The French were the first to get under fire, and from a village on their right they had some shot among them, which wounded one or two of their men. The Engineers cleared the villages and woods on the left, which were found not to be occupied, and the main

body advanced to a village which had hitherto masked their approach from the sight of the batteries.

As we débouched from between two clumps of trees into the half mile of plain commanded by the batteries, we were saluted by shot both in front and flank.

Meanwhile the gun-boats were in action with the batteries down the river, and, having driven the braves from their guns, were throwing up shell towards the bridge. The Royals were ordered to advance a little, and, lying down, to practise on the embrasures; whilst the Engineers advanced on the left, soon coming into deep paddy-land, nearly up to the knee. We had been ordered to take possession of a grove in front of us, and a little below the bridge; which, however, it was soon seen, was on the other side of the river. Meanwhile I, who commanded this party, observed that the sailors had landed, and were marching up the north bank of the river, so I took my instructions *au pied de lettre*, and leading the men over the paddy as fast as they could flounder through it, we got into the *tête du pont*, and over the bridge; meeting on the other side the naval brigade, who had so opportunely turned the position.

The enemy meanwhile had evaporated: no other term can describe the sudden breaking up of what seemed a large body of men. A very few dead and wounded were found. Some women and children had shut themselves into the houses; some labourers were here and there, apparently busily employed in the fields; their scanty clothing suggesting the idea that their uniform was hidden in an adjoining hole, and that by some mysterious process their jingalls had been transformed into hoes. And this was all that we saw. The force crossed the bridge, and took up their quarters

in some buildings on the hill, where they established themselves and dined; their legitimate rations being eked out by such stray pigs and fowls as were picked up.

Our casualties were confined to contusions sustained by two or three of our Sepoys, about whom the bricks of a house were knocked, by one of the enemy's shot, and a man who got a revolver bullet in his leg at the hands of an eager midddy, who intended it for an old sow which was being hunted desperately, just before dinner. The French, as I said before, suffered rather more seriously, the shot having in their case acted directly, and not by deputy, as with the Sepoys.

The principal building in the place was a large military store, and evidently the bureau of military correspondence. Some very interesting documents were found here, which explained many mysteries, and thoroughly exposed the insincerity of the imperial government. Correspondence was found on the subject of Lord Elgin's negotiations with the three imperial commissioners at Shanghae, showing that the instructions of the latter were to undo all that had been done at Tien-tsin; by bringing about an abandonment by us of the right of residence at Peking, trade on the Yang-tsze, and general circulation in the interior; without which the long treaty of Tien-tsin would be absolutely valueless.

This correspondence showed that the emperor had entirely set his face against the treaty, and it was singularly confirmed by the papers previously obtained by Parkes at Canton, of which the secret edict, quoted in Chapter V., issued to prevent our ever entering the river Peiho again, was one. We were now tolerably *au fait* as to the *good* faith of the imperial government.

It was also made manifest to us now, as perhaps it might have been earlier to Pih-kwei, that the prime mover in the organization of these bands of braves was Whang himself, the viceroy and imperial commissioner, acting under instructions from the government. Hence it was hardly to be expected that we should get any very active co-operation from him in opposing the measures of his own immediate superior.

With regard to the trifling nature of the resistance offered to us, it appeared that a circular had been sent round to all the neighbourhood, calling on the different villages to contribute their quota of men, and stating that arrangements had been made for the commissariat of such force as might assemble. However, prudence was stronger than patriotism, or even than the fear of the committee of the gentry; and the defence of Shek-tsin was probably left to the few organized troops actually about the place, who, feeling the lack of support from their own people, wisely beat a retreat as soon as they saw their position turned.

Sentries were placed by us to protect the women and children, who had shut themselves into houses, and a guard was afforded for the security of two large pawn-shops; however, not until the coolies, profiting by the precedent of "Nam-tow," had enriched themselves as far as they could, though I believe there was not much to be had but old clothes. The mauraunders managed to carry off their booty by stripping themselves, and putting on suit after suit, all to be concealed by their own uniform. These pawn-shops have, superadded to the ordinary functions of those establishments with us, those of general storehouses, in which people even of the better class send their goods, not immediately in use, to be pawned; more for the sake of storage than

for any other purpose, so that in summer you find them full of warm wadded clothing or furs, whilst in winter lighter garments abound. Occasionally great wealth is stored up in them. It is lawful to sell the deposits, if unredeemed, within three years. These establishments also conduct the ordinary business of banks.

After dinner I went out with the General, reconnoitring: everything was perfectly peaceful—no one would imagine for a moment that such an idea as hostility or opposition had ever entered the minds of the smiling and chin-chinning (welcoming) natives, who presented themselves before us. Our walk was confined to a small circuit, as it was reserved for the morrow, to make a more distant expedition into the country.

The morning was most propitious; a bright sun and cool wind giving promise of a delightful march; and at about nine A.M. we started. Our road led us over a flat country, having an inconvenient stream running through a portion of it, and which turned up at all sorts of unexpected times. We got over by an extemporized bridge, formed of two boats; and continuing our march, we crossed a plain, and following the road, which led us pleasantly through a grove of fine trees backing a village, we came upon a large plantation of bamboos, on the farther side of which was the "Kong-tsun" River, a larger stream than that of Shek-tsin, passing over a clean shingly bottom. Opposite to us was a good-sized village, behind which rose a line of hills which followed the bank of the river in its downward course, though a little above where we were, it turned inland. Another line of hills coming up to the river, about a couple of miles above us, presented a bold abrupt headland, a similar range on our side confront-

ing it ; which, being furnished with a pagoda on the summit, forms a good landmark for some distance round.

On the hills in rear of the village which was before us, we saw groups of people collected, but evidently not armed ; so getting hold of a number of boats, we were quietly ferried over by detachments, and passing through the streets, lined by the curious and interested natives, we emerged into the open ground, where we halted, until the passage of the entire force had been accomplished. We then marched up the bank of the river to a large public hall, in front of which was a considerable space of uncultivated ground, where we rested and dined. This hall was searched, and amongst other curiosities of the place, were discovered three skulls in jars, which were supposed to be, and I believe undoubtedly were, the heads of persons murdered at Canton. This house was identified as that in which the kidnapped artilleryman had been confined ; but the mandarin and his little daughter had not chosen to remain, to witness the invasion of the house and garden, which most likely their prisoner had been the first European to enter. The conscience of the gentleman was, perhaps, not sufficiently clear to enable him to look forward to a meeting with very pleasant feelings ; and the little girl would hardly care to remain alone to receive the thanks of the barbarians. Our depredations were confined to a rigorous examination of such papers as remained in the house, together with the appropriation of sundry oranges, which the artilleryman had seen when blossoms, little thinking who would benefit by the fruit.

At the village of "Kong-tsun," which lies nearly under the bold hill higher up the river, we found a great fair going on ; thousands of people were collected,

and stalls and booths stored with all sorts of eatables and other articles lined the roadway. What an incident to the visitors to the fair, to come across a party, and such a party, of strange fellow-visitors! How many must have seen the barbarian then for the first time, in all his barbarity and fierceness! many who will, perhaps, never see him again! What a splendid chance for them all! Certainly never was there such a Kong-tsun fair before, and it is almost certain never will there be such another—every one seemed brimfull of good humour and delight, and I believe nothing was done to give them cause to have a bad opinion of us.

The river here is wider and more shallow than lower down, and is fordable. They brought boats for our men, but some were barbarous enough to prefer wading; and moreover, shall I say? barbarous or civilized enough to deprive themselves of their nether garments before attempting the feat.

Our homeward march led us through the village of "Tai-long," rather a large place, and supposed to have a strong anti-barbarian leaning; but here, as elsewhere, we were met on our approach, by venerable elders, bearing in their hands rose-coloured strips of paper—tokens of friendship and welcome. Mr. Parkes, however, had, as we heard, rather a stormy interview with the mandarins, and we were kept waiting some little time in consequence.

In the neighbourhood of "Shek-tsin" the country was much more under water than in other parts, and we were constrained to follow the tiresome Indian file order of marching. When within a couple of miles of Shek-tsin, the evening closing on us, the head of our column came suddenly on a river, the same which we had crossed lower down in the morning: unfortunately,

the Engineers with their pontoons had been ordered to march in the rear, and it was some time before they could get up and overcome the obstacle. The last of the party who had to remain to take up the bridge, did not reach their quarters till past ten o'clock.

Next morning, preparations were made for destroying the public buildings, and the combustible materials being judiciously arranged, a light was applied in two or three places, just as we marched off. Before we had all crossed the bridge, the whole range was a mass of fire. The morning being still, the smoke hung like a huge parachute over the hill, and gave evidence for many a mile round, of the probable fate of the nests wherein might be hatched plots against us. I believe that at the defence of Shek-tsin bridge, the last shot was fired in that part of the country, and that from the date of this expedition, the organized bands of braves ceased to exist.

One more act of retribution had to be performed. A native messenger sent in to Canton from Shek-tsin, by the General, had been seized in the village in which we had first come under the fire of the batteries; he had been ill-used and mutilated, so we treated the buildings there as at Shek-tsin, and destroyed them. The result of this little expedition was highly important, and effected with the very minimum of loss to ourselves, and, I think, without the commission of a single act which could give the natives an unfavourable impression either of our power, or of our mode of employing it.

CHAPTER X.

Expedition to Fatsan—Exploring up the Canton River—The happy new year—A practical joke—The returned emigrant—Expedition to Fayuen—Pawn-shops—Our treatment by “the gentry”—Dry ponds tell a tale—Expedition to Shaou-king—Our chop-boats—The river-side scenery—Sugar-cane—The agriculturist and his cabbages—The rocky gorge—We arrive at Shaou-king.

A MARCH out in the direction of “Sampo-huey” showed that all was quiet there, and the next place proposed to be visited was Fatsan, in the creeks leading to which place so large a fleet of junks had been destroyed by the force under Sir Michael Seymour in 1857, and where Keppel distinguished himself so much, in the gallant boat action on the same day.

This place had, I believe, not been visited since; indeed, the town was not entered then, the operations being confined to the destruction of the fleet, and of the batteries which covered the approaches.

Our expedition was entirely a naval one, the force consisting of ten gun-boats, on board which were detachments of troops. The water being found to shoal, two or three miles below Fatsan, the gun-boats were anchored, and the principal personages, with a suitable escort, were taken up in boats to the town, where they were met by the authorities, and treated with every mark of respect; the usual amount of compliments and sweetmeats being got through very satisfactorily.

The river was found to be staked in two places,

batteries having been constructed in suitable spots, so as to bring their fire on the vessels, where checked by these obstacles; but no signs were visible of recent works of defence. The town is said to be two miles long, the creek running straight through it; and as there is water communication from Fatshan to the north and west rivers, as well as to Canton, it is a place which does a very considerable amount of trade. We remained on board the gun-boats that night in the river, returning to Canton on the 21st January.

The next place to be visited was "Tai-liek," to the south-west of Canton, and on the opposite side of the river. It was intended to take some of our mountain artillery, as we had done to Shek-tsin and Kong-tsun; and as many of the roads across the paddy are not wide enough to admit of even these little guns being drawn over them, it was necessary to ascertain before starting, whether we should be able to get them along. I was, therefore, sent, two or three days before, to reconnoitre. I went by one route to a large village called "Wong-kong-ku," whence there was a good road in the direction of Tai-liek, said to be six miles distant; and I found, moreover, the country all dry in that neighbourhood, and fit for the movement of troops. A few days later I made an expedition in a gun-boat to a place called "Nayun," where I landed, and with my little guard, walked to within three-quarters of a mile of "Tai-liek," finding the people all friendly.

I refrained from entering the place, wishing to give our visit in force its full effect of novelty.

Two days later, on the 31st January, a considerable force started, going by my first route, and returning by that of "Nayun," to which place our gun-boats and junks had been sent to wait for us and bring us home.

We found many of the creeks staked in parts, having a narrow passage only, available for traffic, and covered by batteries. These works are, I believe, entirely undertaken to afford security to junks from the depredations of river-pirates, who are very numerous. Indeed, it is rather difficult sometimes to discover which is the aggressor and which the aggrieved, the pirate or the trader, for in many cases the two businesses are carried on indifferently. The barriers usually defend the approach to villages, and the batteries would be manned by the inhabitants, who would combine equally to protect the boats of their village were they flying from a pirate, or from the just anger of a trader whose strength they might have miscalculated and ventured to attack.

Having succeeded so far in our progresses through the country, it was determined to visit "Fayuen" itself, the focus of all the treason, the head-quarters of the redoubtable "Fayuen committee."

This place was known to be between twenty and thirty miles from Canton, and it was thought that some branch of the Canton River might be found, by which our gun-boats could approach the place, and shorten the distance over which we should have to march, as it was reported that a stream, flowing from Fayuen, entered the river at some point above Canton. Accordingly, on the 2nd February, I was sent on an exploring expedition. I had what is called a chop-boat, with a comfortable cabin, given me to live in, and a gun-boat, the "Kestrel," to take me in tow. I lived in the gun-boat by day mostly, and slept in my own little ship, and between the two was exceedingly comfortable.

On the first day we succeeded in getting through all the portion of the river surveyed up to that time, and

passing through the "Shek-mun," or "stone gate," (a rather narrow pass with a bluff headland running up to the river, and where a branch ran off in a south-west direction,) we entered on fresh ground.

Anchoring for the night off a point which we called Limehouse Point, from the number of kilns dotted about, we went on shore on the western bank, and explored. I find my experiences summed up in my journal as, "Country barren, soil sandy, people poor." It was altogether an uninteresting spot.

Next day we went on, and opportunely enough got aground, abreast of rather a large village, called "Hok-kong-tao." We landed, and walked to a village called "Cha-lung," about three miles distant, inland. This place we found to be a large entrepôt for goods of all kinds: there appeared to be a very considerable market, and roads leading into the country in different directions; but our visit was unfortunately timed, every shop being closed, on account of the holiday-time of the new year, which was then passing; the "few days happy new year" of which old Sing-chong had spoken, as engaging the masons and carpenters at this season.

The village seemed like one stricken with universal death: there was hardly a man to be seen; and in the principal street, which on ordinary occasions would probably be teeming with life, the only persons we saw were individuals more or less in a state of torpor from too great an indulgence in opium. The advantage (if such a term is admissible) of intoxication from this drug, over that arising from ardent spirits, is that the indulger does no harm to any one, except directly to himself, and indirectly to his family, whereas the intoxication of the drunkard has a far wider range; but the opium-smoker is perhaps less troublesome drunk

than sober. The situation of "Cha-lung" may be well adapted for obtaining supplies of opium easily; I certainly never at any time, in any other place, saw so universal traces of its influence; but it must be remembered that it was at a special season.

At the season of the new year all accounts are settled, and theoretically, if not practically, all bills are paid. The Chinese are extremely particular on this subject, and will sell their goods at what is called an enormous sacrifice, in order to meet their liabilities, and commence the new year free; and it is probable that the solvent man smokes, or eats opium out of sheer contentment, while the insolvent obtains temporary relief from the pressure of his embarrassments, by a similar indulgence.

The distance of this place from "Fayuen" was, as far as we could ascertain, twenty-two miles, being nearly as far as from Canton. So we went on higher up the river, but without any great expectation of a favourable result. At a place called "Mah-wee-tao," or "the cat's head" ("mah-wee" being "cat" and "tao" "head"), we found a ferry, and a road leading from it to Fayuen, but which evidently only joined the road from "Cha-lung," and was as long and not as good. So we went still farther, and, landing, climbed a high hill, from whence we saw that all hope of the Canton River, as an auxiliary in the contemplated march, was at an end. It wound away to the north-west, Fayuen being north-east of us. We observed, looking northward, an opening in a high range of hills running east and west, and near the foot of which we imagined Fayuen to lie; and through this opening the river flowed, coming apparently from a plain country situated on the other side of this range of hills. It is from this same plain country that the North River comes, which joining the West River some

fifteen miles east of "Fatshan," runs down and enters the sea near Macao; the Canton River being considerably smaller than these combined streams. Indeed, at the point where we then were, about twenty-four miles above Canton, the river was in places, not fifty yards wide. The character of the Canton River below the city, is much more that of inlets from the sea, than a river; whereas in the West River, the stream of clear fresh water is very great, in places more than a mile wide, at a greater distance from the sea than is Canton, and bearing a body of fresh water which overpowers the tide, and is but slightly affected by it. On a later occasion we visited the West River; but up to this time our knowledge of it was merely from report.

Descending the river again, we landed a second time at "Hok-kong-tao," and, walking through "Cha-lung," went eight miles along the road towards "Fayuen" to Tai-ling, where we were stopped by a small stream, which enters the river near the place where we landed, and which, doubtless, is the one we were in search of, as it evidently came from the neighbourhood of "Fayuen." At this point it was about thirty yards wide, and some two or three feet deep, with a good sound bottom. There was a ferry-boat, which plied backwards and forwards, and about a mile from the opposite bank was a large village called "Wy-kap." We were told here that we were fifty li, or seventeen miles, from Fayuen. They pointed out the direction, and said we could almost see it. In this case a miss was better than a mile, for a bearing taken with the compass to the point indicated, and laid down afterwards, proved their assertions to be quite true.

Whilst sketching here, I was surrounded by great crowds of idlers; some hundreds thronged round me,

and took great delight in touching me all over. The three marines who escorted me excited a vast amount of curiosity. When I descended towards the river, they evidently all thought I meant to cross, and a race ensued which should get first on board the boat, for the chance of a passage across in my company. It was filled in a few seconds, and I saw the opportunity for a practical joke such as a Chinaman loves; so I signed to the boatman that I was not going, and that he might push off. He was ready enough to take the hint, and punted them all across, and bundled them out, refusing to bring any back without payment. The victims of the joke had either to pay, or, rolling up their capacious trousers, wade back amidst the roars of their friends. The laugh was infectious, and every one seemed to consider it the smartest thing they had seen done for a long time. I was quite sorry to leave them, they were so jolly and good-humoured, but the afternoon was slipping away, and I had to get back before dark.

Passing through a small village, I was accosted by cries of "Johnny, I say, Johnny!" I found they proceeded from an elderly blind man, who, seated under a tree, was left there by his friends, all of whom rushed to see me, leaving him alone. I went up to him, and found he spoke English rather well. He told me that he had gone to California some years ago, in search of gold; that he had met with many vicissitudes, which terminated in his returning home not much richer than when he left; that he had lately lost his sight during small-pox; that since his return home he had never before met an Englishman, and that he certainly had not expected to come across one in his remote village.

I wish my time had permitted me to have a long talk with him, and learn more of his history.

That exclamation of "I say" is curious. They think it has a great charm for us, and always use it as a means of attracting attention. Sometimes we are spoken of as "I says." A delinquent, when undergoing the cat-o'-nine-tails, will interlard his own native cry of "Ayah" with exclamations of "I say! I say!" called forth at each blow. The Sepoys were, in the same way, invariably called "Achas!" "Acha," or "good," is the constantly-recurring answer or running commentary of a Sepoy when spoken to, and "Acha, sahib," is always repeated at short intervals, throughout your address. I remember once, on the march, a Sepoy had failed from fatigue; a stalwart Chinese coolie passing by, half-kindly and half-derisively inquired, "Acha hab die? No? Then come on chop chop;" chop chop meaning quick, without delay.

The following day (6th February) we returned to Canton, having explored the mouths of the "Kong-tsun" and "Shek-tsin" Rivers, and added no inconsiderable amount of country, to that already surveyed round Canton.

In consequence of my report, it was of course settled that our expedition was to be entirely by land; and the necessary arrangements having been made, we started on the 8th February, at about ten o'clock, halting at "Kong-tsun," on the same ground which we had occupied for our bivouac on the 9th January, just a month before. Next day we went as far as "Ping-shan," a town about three miles only short of "Fayuen," so as to be able to enter that place early, with all the day before us. I took the opportunity while here, of

going over a very large pawn-shop, which stood conspicuously above all the other buildings, and which we had taken the precaution to protect by a guard, as soon as we entered the town. These establishments are usually in the form of a square tower, with a summit of peculiar shape ; and the interior consists of a succession of floors, connected by a narrow staircase, the whole space, except that niggardly allowed for passage, being taken up by racks, on which the goods are carefully stowed away and ticketed. There appeared to be nothing of any great value, unless some of the clothing or furs, which formed the staple commodity, (but of which I was no judge,) were good. Articles of silver or jewellery would be put away in special places of security, which, under the circumstances of our short acquaintance, I would not ask the proprietor to disclose.

At Chusan, in 1860, however, I persuaded a pawnbroker to bring out his treasures, but they were not very valuable, being principally bracelets and ear-rings of silver, with small ornaments of jade, and the imitation of enamel, made by gluing the feathers of kingfishers on to silver ornaments. A very rich and beautiful effect is produced in this way, and at, of course, a moderate price. I have often been requested by the boat-girls who took me down the river on shooting excursions, to bring them back kingfishers, if I could get them.

In the morning we marched into Fayuen, and were received as visitors of distinction. Porters, bearing trays loaded with patties for the troops, crowded up as the men were halted ; a special repast was provided for the General and senior officers, at which smiling and gratified mandarins vied with one another in expressions of regard : every one was fêted. Had we been

members of a nation to which the Chinese felt themselves bound by ties of gratitude, called forth by centuries replete with obligations conferred, we could not have been welcomed with more *empressement*. And this was Fayuen !

The main body of our troops was encamped on a hill outside the city, and overlooking it ; detachments also were quartered in temples, in different parts of the town.

In the afternoon we explored the place, which was not a work of any great labour, for the town is small. To speak very exactly, the wall which encompasses it is just 1670 yards in extent, and quadrangular in form. It is a town of the third class, styled "Heen." It has four gates—one on each side. The wall is 22 feet high, and battlemented, just like those of all the other cities. We saw very few guns mounted ; but the recent dry weather caused a secret to be disclosed, which we were not intended to discover. The rapidly evaporating water in a pond close under the wall exposed several cannon, which had been hastily removed from their station on the ramparts, and thrown in, to give an appearance of peacefulness and friendly welcome, which probably the consciences of the committee made them think it desirable to make very evident.

We took a pleasant walk out into the country, and visited a pagoda, which is a conspicuous object, being perched upon a conical hill, and from the top of which we could see Canton, distant, as the crow flies, about thirty miles. We could afterwards (knowing its situation) make out this pagoda from the top of the White Cloud Mountains.

The visit passed most successfully, and next morning

we marched soon after nine. At "Pingshan" we had a long halt, and a good deal of tiresome delay. For some reason or other, our transport came to grief, and we had to hire a number of native coolies with wheelbarrows, to join our force. We pushed on to Kong-tsun, not arriving there till dark, after a very tedious and disagreeable march. Our march into Canton on the next day was a pleasant one. The inhabitants of Kong-tsun very considerately made us a bridge of boats across the river, to facilitate our progress.

The next expedition projected was to "Shaou-king," the former capital of the "Kwang-tung" province. It used to be a city of great importance, but trade had been diverted from it; still it always retained its titular capital rank, as being the nominal seat of the governor-general of the two provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-se, while the governor of Kwang-tung had the seat of his government at Canton. The great advance in the prosperity of the latter city, arising from its superior position, and foreign trade, rendered it desirable that the governor-general should reside there, and a yamun was built for him in the new portion of the city, which was added to the old in the present dynasty; yet this yamun was only rated as a "hing-yuen," or *temporary* viceroy's quarters. It was the building destroyed by us in 1856, and on its site the French cathedral is now to be erected.

The proper yamun of the governor-general was still held to be at Shaou-king, but, being uninhabited, it had been allowed to fall into decay; and at the time of our visit, nothing of it remained standing, but the gate, and the granite lions which guarded the entrance.

However, up to the last, the military force under the

orders of the governor-general had remained stationed at Shaou-king, the idea being that his division and that of the governor together, might prove too powerful for the Tartar garrison, which was supposed to act as a check on the purely native force of the province.

This part of the country had not been completely surveyed. There was, indeed, a chart of a portion of the "Broadway," and of a creek connecting it with the Canton River, but not extending up the West River. It is difficult to hit off the proper channel, as the country about the lower part of the river is cut up by an intricate net-work of creeks, some very shallow, and all forming the most admirable refuges for the nests of pirates with which these waters are infested, and which also in former days, not unfrequently baffled our vessels of war, in the pursuit of fleets of imperial junks. The arrival of our gun-boats in these waters must have been hailed with dismay by the predatory adventurers; their handiness in getting about round corners, in spite of wind and tides, making them more than a match even for the cleverly-handled native boats, placing out of the question their being armed with the most formidable guns in our service.

These gun-boats have of course no spare accommodation, so that it was impossible to send troops in them except for short distances, as they would never be able to leave the deck, and *that* was not an extensive exercise ground even for the original legitimate crew; in an expedition like that proposed up the West River, it was necessary therefore to provide separate transport for the troops. This was effected by the hire of junks, or chop-boats, as they are termed, such as are used for transporting cargoes. They have a capital lower deck,

and are capable of affording excellent accommodation for troops. Those which we had, would each contain fifty men very comfortably : they were equipped with masts and sails, had their own native captains, and one or two native boatmen, our men hauling on the ropes as required ; and thus, with a fair wind, we were quite able to shift for ourselves, and gave a period of repose to our maternal gun-boats, who were each blest with twins of this breed, and who took us in tow on all needful occasions.

There was one steamer equipped as a coal-store—there were the marine chops, the artillery, the engineer, the staff, the commissariat, the hospital chops—all marked and numbered, and each pair with its numbered guardian gun-boat, in all forming a very complete little flotilla. Captain M'Cleverty was senior naval officer, and General Straubenzee commanded the troops in person.

The French had a steamer called "La Rose," in the bows of which they had, for the sake of providing for the comfort of their men, gone the length of building a brick oven—a measure which rather put the "Rose" out of trim ; but that was not of much consequence, when weighed in the balance against fresh bread every day—certainly not in military estimation, whatever a sailor might say.

We started on the 16th February ; the point of rendezvous was near "Tiger Island ;" the more independent of the chop-boats were inclined to find their way guided, but untowed. After passing Whampoa and the second bar, we sailed down a creek apparently nearly parallel to the main river, and, after threading our way for some ten or twelve miles down a stream affording

great advantages for the resort and slaughter of wild fowl, we anchored at the back of Tiger Island, and thought ourselves very fine fellows for having so successfully shown the navy the sea-going qualities of the sister profession.

At about seven next morning we got under weigh, and, following the same stream, passed "Sha-won" and "Nam-pai-to." At the latter place the General landed, and went to see the town, accompanied by a small guard. The watchmen at the gate, probably more under the influence of fear, than with a desire to insult, shut and barred it in his face. It was not convenient to delay at that time for satisfaction, but it was determined to call again on our way back.

Soon after this, the responsibility was forced upon us of selecting between two routes: we took that to the south. To those who plotted the course as we went, from the compass bearings, it was evident that we were going by a very devious route, even were it the proper one; for, being desirous of going to the west, we found our passage took us first south, then east, and lastly south-east. In the end we found ourselves in a broad shallow, about six miles south-west of "Anunghoy," with whose peaks I was familiar, from having been engaged there surveying the Bogue Forts, a few months before, and not very many miles from the spot we had left in the morning. We anchored, whilst some of the gun-boats went exploring for a passage, but with no very satisfactory result.

Next morning at six o'clock, we made a fresh start, and proceeded in a south-westerly direction, but could hit off no satisfactory passage, and it became evident to our survey officers that we had taken the wrong course

the day before ; so, without farther delay, we retraced our steps, and, regaining the point where we had made our unlucky choice, we took the other passage, and went down as far as "Essex Point," where we anchored for the night. We started again at the same hour on the next day, and, after a delay of about an hour and a half off "Nam-chum-tseu-kong," caused by some of the gun-boats getting aground, we entered the Broadway at about three P.M.

This is really a very fine river—a sheet of deep, clear green water, perfectly fresh, and in most places more than a mile wide. On the west bank were high hills : on the east the country was more flat ; but a ridge which had bordered our creek terminated, at its junction with the Broadway, in some very curious rocks of basaltic formation.

As we ascended the river, we found all the larger towns or villages on the eastern bank. The principal places we passed were "Kam-chao," and then "Kao-kong." The latter town extended along the bank of the river for a great distance. The inhabitants turned out in crowds to see us pass. The scenery was fine : the hills on the west bank came down in places to the water's edge, and were tinted here and there with a peculiar red hue, which gave a very rich effect to the colouring.

A great quantity of sugar is grown here : the smoke rising from the different boiling-houses gives a marked character to the scenery, and was a feature quite new to me in the country. The cane, which is thickly planted, is enclosed within high bamboo fences, which serve to shelter it from the wind, and give an effect of great regularity and squareness to the plantations. I

suppose they find this is a desirable precaution during the time that the cane is young and tender, when, were it not for the shelter of these fences, it would be liable to great damage in storms.

I have been told this is a precaution never taken by us in our West Indian sugar plantations; but no matter of detail or precaution is too trivial for a Chinaman. We should say, "It would not pay." With them it is more a question of labour, and that they never spare.

I saw a man once, who had a plot of ground in which he was going to plant out some cabbages. He knew there were beetles and other insects in the ground which would eat them; so when it was all ready he put bits of cabbage-leaf, about two feet apart, all over the plot, placing a stone on each, to keep it from being blown away: he left them for a time, and then visited them at intervals, finding insects at work at them each time; these he killed, removing carefully the remains, for fear of their scaring away the brethren. At last, when he could catch no more, he planted out his cabbages. All this I saw done with my own eyes; and the good man seemed to think there was nothing unusual in it, but that it was the most natural way in the world of securing the safety of his vegetables, at the cost of a few leaves.

The next day being Sunday, we had service on board the different chop-boats, and soon after it was over, we came to the West River which unites with the North River to form the Broadway. Though the sharp turn off to the westward showed clearly that we were at the junction, we could not, with any certainty, make out the North River, which, from what we had heard, we knew to be a considerable stream. It is from this point

that access can be had to Fatshan by a direct channel, which would be by far the shortest route to Canton for such vessels as might be small enough to take advantage of it. At the mouth of the West River, the hills on the southern side approach near the bank; they are about one thousand five hundred feet high, tolerably level on the top, but serrated; with still the same reddish hue. They then sweep inwards, leaving a pleasant little plain extending from their base to the bank, and approach the river again some eight miles higher up, after which they jealously hug the border of the stream.

On the north side, the plain extends from the river, about ten miles back; apparently a rich and fertile district; but there rises at about that distance, a range of mountains, of which some of the peaks are probably three thousand feet high: a spur from these appears gradually to close on the river, not far above us. Ten miles from the mouth of the river, we meet with a flat sandy island, and not far from it, on the northern bank, a large village, of which the houses next the river are all raised on piles; indicating, possibly, a tendency to floods on the part of the stream. Sugar still appears the staple crop, though, perhaps, its greater obtrusiveness from the boiling establishments, and its high growth, causes it to be more remarked than the unassuming rice, which, in February, would probably be not yet in the ground.

We find, after trying both sides of the island, that the northern channel is the deepest; the river is broad, tranquil and clear, and on we go. As we advance, the hills appear to have completely barred our further progress: we had for some time fancied that a turn in the

river would break the line of hill in front of us, and disclose an opening by which we should see the plains beyond ; but no, the river gradually narrows ; we run close up to the rocks ; the course changes rapidly from west to south ; the wind coming up the river hurries through the narrow passage, and we enter into a gorge not more than three or four hundred yards wide, with steep barren rocks on each side of us. From broad daylight we enter into comparative gloom ; the signal is given for the junks to take care of themselves ; the gun-boats cast us off, and rush pantingly forward, flecking the dark sides of the rocks with fragments of snowy steam carried in ragged patches, wreathing and curling, and dying away midst the nooks and crannies, and making the darkness still more dark. We spread our rich tan-coloured sails, but, before they can be set, the blast comes rushing angrily, having been pent up and accumulated outside : all untrimmed they catch the breeze, and hurrying, jostling each other, ploughing up the dark-green water and scattering the spray, we crowd on as if to an inevitable fate. We pass a shrine on the bank, hewn out from the solid rock ; our native crew here pause in their work, run for pieces of thin paper, and lighting them at the ever-burning joss-stick, cast them into the water, clasping their hands, bowing and praying in muttered tones, as they present this fire-offering of prayer or thanksgiving to the presiding tutelary deity. Sounding here as we pass, we find no bottom at fourteen fathoms ; the water looks dark and green, as if it might be any depth ; we change our course from south to south-west, then again to south ; and after about three miles of this headlong race, as suddenly as we had entered the gorge, we emerge

into bright sunlight again, and into a broad sheet of clear water, where our maternal gun-boats come fluttering round, pick us up, and enable us to get our ruffled plumage in order; and again taking us in tow, on we speed. We soon catch sight of the high pagoda of "Shaou-king," and in less than an hour, we all cast anchor in front of the old city, doubtless to the great surprise of the inhabitants, who come crowding down to the bank in thousands, to gaze on the novel sight.



ROCKY GORGE NEAR SHAOU-KING.

CHAPTER XI.

Shaou-king—Anticipated attack by rebels—Apathy of inhabitants—Remarks on present condition of China—Marble rocks—Kingfishers—Visit to Shuntuk—The weak points in Chinese fortifications—Hats and umbrellas—Nampai-to—Return to Canton—Country trips—A snake—Artillery and rifle practice—Agriculture—Artificial egg-hatching—Cantonment amusements—Bowling-alley and racquet-court.

WE remained here just a week, from 20th to 27th February. This visit was, I hope, as agreeable to our hosts as to ourselves. We all lived on board our chop-boats, so we did not make ourselves troublesome as guests; and as we had spent a good many dollars in the town, I dare say our visit was properly appreciated. Having surveyed the walls the first thing, we were enabled to devote the rest of our stay to wandering about, and amusing ourselves in our own way. The General accompanied the naval surveying officers on a trip to a large town, about seventy miles above Shaou-king, called "Woo-choo-foo," where they saw rather an imposing fleet of imperial junks. They were told that a short distance above that point, the river was rapid, and very difficult to navigate. It would appear that "Woo-choo-foo" is the head of the main water traffic.


The rebels were in force in this part of the country, and we found that at "Shaou-king" they were expected. A soldier whom we questioned about it, related the horrors and butchery attending the former capture of the city; and when questioned as to what result he expected from an attack, he quietly answered, "Oh, I believe they will take the city again, and the same scenes will occur." He did not seem to be

very sanguine as to the chance of beating them off, nor indeed did he appear to care very much about it. There was evidently not the slightest energy or confidence in their cause or their strength; and considering that they were convinced that a few months would see the enemy before their walls, their apathy was really astonishing.

There was a hill just without the city, from which the defences on one side could be completely overlooked; and which, if held by an enemy, must render the walls perfectly untenable. A little trench and embankment had been made on this hill, not much more than a couple of feet high, and which would be of just as much service to the enemy as to themselves. I tried to explain to one of them how vitally important this spot was, and that with the enemy on that hill, the city was gone. But all to whom I spoke seemed to think alike, that with the enemy anywhere outside the walls the place was indeed gone. Their language was very much the "quien sabe" of the Spaniard. It was with regret that we heard some months later, that the calamity had indeed come to pass; the rebels had appeared before the city, and captured it.

What a wretched country to belong to, and what a miserable state of affairs! It is to be hoped that the assistance which we are now giving to the imperial government, will do much to improve its condition.

It appears to me that we are adopting a wise course in the measures now proposed for strengthening the hands of the governing power. The rebels have by their acts forfeited any claim to our sympathy to which in the eyes of some they have been considered entitled from their professions of Christianity. They have had a long trial, and have failed: they have never shown



any capacity for administration, and have lost many of their supporters.

Still we should be careful to abstain from any actual interference, by force of arms. As by injudicious charity you may make paupers, so, by helping a nation in such a way as to diminish its self-respect, you do it more harm than good. If a rebellion is to be put down effectually and permanently, it must be done by the native governing power.

By giving a moral support to the imperial government, and teaching it how to drill its soldiers, and make the best use of its resources, we strengthen its arm, without diminishing its self-respect. By increasing its trade, and assisting it in the collection of its revenues,* we shall contribute to its wealth; with wealth will come power, and so the rebellion will be subdued. The first great object to be gained, is the capture of Nankin. With the southern capital, and the great river Yang-tsze-kiang, in imperial hands, the neck of the insurrection will be broken, and we may reasonably hope, that we shall soon see the dawn of a brighter day breaking over that country, than it has looked upon for many years.

The true wealth of China lies in the great industry of its vast population. Our work there is to provide markets and means of communication. In measures of interference, military occupation, and warlike establishments, we have nothing to gain, and all to lose. We may quite trust to the Chinese to develop their own resources, if we will only find a market. It is the old story of the goose and the golden eggs. Our province is to feed and fatten it, and to provide convenient

* This assistance is not actually rendered by our Government: the Chinese employ European gentlemen in situations of trust in their Customs.

nests ; but beware how you attempt to meddle with the natural functions of the bird, lest the supply cease altogether.

During our stay here, the troops were taken out for marches in the country, whenever the weather permitted ; which was by no means every day, nor all day long. One day we visited a very curious group of rocks, some two or three miles from the city. The mountains, which were some distance off, appeared to be of granite formation ; but there sprung from the plain, rocks of marble, seven in number, in much the same relative positions as those occupied by the seven principal stars in the constellation of the Great Bear ; and they are by the Chinese named after the stars in question.



MARBLE ROCK NEAR SHAO-KING.

Some of these are as much as two hundred feet high, and on the principal one is a temple having rooms,

built on different levels, looking as if they were stuck against the rock, like swallows' nests, and without any visible communication between them. At the base is a large cavern, containing fine stalactites, of which the priests seem proud, and where they produced a visitors' book, in which we all duly inscribed our names. Perhaps years hence, when our relations with the Chinese become more satisfactory, travellers will be shown the book, recording the names of probably the first European visitors to the marble rocks.

There is a stream which does duty as irrigator to the plain, and enters the river through an arched passage near the great pagoda. About its banks were numbers of kingfishers, of which I met with three varieties : first, our English bird ; then one much larger, and very similar to it in plumage ; and lastly, a grey-and-white bird, rather larger than the common species, with a bill thicker and stronger in proportion. This bird, instead of sitting on a branch, or post, watching for an opportunity to dive after a fish, hovered in the air, perhaps thirty feet or so above the water, moving its wings rapidly, with its large head and bill held very squarely at right angles to its body, as it looked down. At the proper moment, it would close its wings, and descending with great velocity, it would dart down after its prey, and if unsuccessful, begin again its hovering, thus carefully fishing the river from point to point. One of these, which was shot in the wing, lived on board my chop-boat for some days : it was a very savage little thing, and bold enough to eat meat out of the hand.

On the 26th, the General returned, with the naval exploring party, and the following morning we sailed on our homeward way ; but immediately on leaving the gorge, we entered one of the densest fogs I ever

saw, which lasted until noon, during which time we lay at anchor, unable to see much more than the length of the boat. In the afternoon we moved down to the mouth of the West River, whilst an exploring party visited a town there called "Sam-shui." In the night it rained for a few hours; but the air was not cleared, for in the morning the fog was as thick as ever, and numbers of wild geese could be heard crying, as they swam all about between the vessels: a couple, who remained a little too long, after the fog began to clear, suffered for their temerity in so doing. In the afternoon a strong breeze sprang up, and we went spanking down the Broadway at a great rate, and anchored for the night at the mouth of the passage leading to the Canton River.

In the morning it was found that several of the gun-boats were aground, so we did not weigh till half-past ten A.M., when, with a nice breeze, we had a very pleasant sail to the mouth of a creek leading up to a town called "Shun-tuk," which it was proposed to visit; and here we anchored. Some of us landed, and climbed up a hill, from which we could look over the road to the town, some three miles distant.

To guard against the contingency of the gates being shut in our face, as had happened at "Nam-pai-to," we marched in the morning, provided with scaling-ladders and powder-bags; but found no use for them, as we met with a friendly welcome. We passed through a district where the mulberry was cultivated. The ground was made up in broad ridges, like asparagus beds, and the shrubs were small, and planted in rows.

The city, with its wall and other defences, is built in the same odd way as very many Chinese towns, being

entirely commanded from a hill outside, the possession of which must involve that of the city, and which it would be quite possible to gain, without coming under fire from the walls. There seems to be a strange whimsical perversity in the Chinese mind, of which this is an instance. I could enumerate several towns, out of those which I have seen, which are encircled with a wall, and carefully guarded on all points, except the key of the whole position. Canton itself was in this predicament, until the more modern forts on the Gough and Blue-jacket Hills were built. Ting-hae in Chusan is another instance, and thus fell into our hands in the old war. Nam-tow is another, and might have been taken in the same way, with a smaller loss to us than actually occurred. Shaou-king I have already mentioned. "Teng-choo-foo," in the Gulf of Peh-chi-li, is also commanded on the western side; as is also "Fayuen" on the north-east, and others, which it would be tedious to enumerate, as I am not proposing to make a raid on the country.

As another instance of this perversity, the Chinese are noted for the immense number of umbrellas they make, and which are constantly used to keep off the sun. They have also the very best of hats for the same purpose, with crowns and enormous brims of wicker, with an inner circlet fitting closely on the brow, allowing an air-space all over and round the head; yet it seems totally immaterial to them whether they use hat, or umbrella, or go bareheaded altogether. The women's hats, which they wear when working in the fields, consist of a wide wicker brim, with a crown of blue cotton, and are usually provided with a fall of the same material, and which makes really a pretty garden hat. Striking is the revulsion to one's feelings in

taking a sly peep underneath what one would imagine, from European precedents, to conceal a pretty face. I should think that the dark material, fitting rather closely on the crown, must be hot; on the whole, the men are the best off in respect of hats.

There is water communication from "Shun-tuk" to the river, and this the navy explored, as we marched by the road. The suburbs appeared full of shops, thickly populated, and very busy. This strikes one very much, wherever one goes, provided the rebel movement has not recently visited the spot. Every place is populous, for its size; full of trade, and apparently thriving. One would think the wants of the people must be considerable, to induce so much business; and yet I suppose no nation has fewer wants. The inside of this city was, like Shaou-king, a good deal taken up with large mandarins' yamuns and public buildings. On the whole, as is generally the case, this quarter was much less thriving than the suburbs. On one side of the wall you see the native industry; on the other, the government obstructiveness. I think that is a fair emblem of the condition of the country.

A leading feature of "Shun-tuk" is a high pagoda on a hill, near which is another on a small eminence on the plain, forming a notable landmark for a long distance round.

On our return to the vessels we continued our passage, and anchored off "Nam-pai-to," where the General had been somewhat abruptly prevented entering the village on the occasion of our former visit. We provided ourselves with powder-bags, before landing next morning; but, as was natural after such a precaution, we found the gates open. It was a wretched wet day. How-

ever, we spent some two or three hours in the town, during which time Mr. Parkes gave a long lecture to the mandarins. It is rather a large place, about a mile long, and surrounded by a mud wall some twelve feet high, with a gate at each end; on either side of which is a gun to fire on the paved road leading into the town. Having given ourselves the freedom of the city, and practically asserted our power, if not our right, to pay a peaceable visit to its inhabitants, we went on board again, and made the best of our way back to Canton, arriving late in the afternoon, having spent very pleasantly the time from 16th February to 3rd March.

An expedition to "Yung-suey-tao," about seven miles north-east of Canton, when we camped out two nights, was the last of those made in any force. I was out later, surveying, and went some distance, but accompanied only by an escort of about half a dozen men. Very pleasant were these little expeditions. I generally had a companion with me. We had our tent, the men a second, and our coolies, who carried our tents and provisions, owned a third. We marched about wherever our duties required, encamping when and where we liked, usually by the side of some clear stream, in which we bathed morning and evening. We took our guns with us, and added sundry little luxuries to our potted and pickled fare previously provided. A native servant, or one of the coolies, was the only interpreter we wanted. We were hospitably and kindly treated wherever we went; and spent such charming gipsy days as I shall always look back upon with the greatest pleasure. The very occupation of surveying, sketching, and recording the scenes of our rambles immeasurably enhanced the pleasures of such a trip.

I remember on one occasion having an exciting adventure with a snake. I was walking through some brushwood in search of game, when I suddenly felt something move strongly under my foot. I fancied that it must be a snake; but not knowing whether I was on its head or its tail, I could not decide whether it was best to lift my foot, or not. I moved the bushes, keeping my foot firmly down, and saw it had twined itself twice round my leg, but with the *tail* half of its body, the head being pointed away, towards some rocks not far off. So I lifted up my foot quietly, and away went my friend. I was cruel and ungrateful enough to shoot him just as he was going under the rocks. It gave me some trouble to pull him out, as he had got half in before I could lay hold of him. He was a fine fellow, and measured seven feet four inches in length, and was stout in proportion. My servant, "Aman," whom I made carry him home, amidst many expressions of disgust, answered my questions as to whether it was a venomous one, in the following phrase: "Suppose he makey bite you, you walk home, and no makee die, I cumshaw you [present you with] one dollar."

On the 29th of March we had some artillery and rifle practice at Artillery Hill, near a place called "Yin-tong," formerly used by the Chinese army for the same purpose. It was given the character of a fête; the imperial general being invited, with his officers, to be present, and to partake of refreshments on the ground. I think he must have been struck by the accuracy of the rifle practice, which, at five hundred yards, was very good; some of the volleys from sections of the Royals were excellent. The only artillery we had to show off with, was not of an imposing

calibre, though the bursting of the shell was rather a novelty.

Whilst the annual rifle training went on, some of the country people appeared to take considerable interest in it, and soon got well acquainted with the meaning of the flags and bugle calls, and took becoming interest in the successful hits; and I dare say spread reports of the skill of our marksmen, which would not be calculated to lose force by repetition. I really believe that the occupation of Canton, giving as it did to the Chinese, the power of witnessing our every-day habits and getting personally acquainted with us, beyond the intercourse between buyer and seller, victor and vanquished—leavening the whole country round as it necessarily did, from the constant traffic to and from so large a city—must have had an immense effect on the feelings of the Chinese towards us, scarcely appreciated in England. Many and many of the prejudices and false ideas arising from ignorance, and the wilful misrepresentations of their officials, must have been swept away. How often must the phrase, whatever it is in Chinese, “They are not half such bad fellows after all,” or “They are not such fools as we took them for,” have been heard in the domestic home, on the return of travellers from their periodical visits to the provincial capital.

The cultivation of the ground for the spring rice crop now drove us from our paper hunts, and the wet state of the country rendered marches more difficult; indeed, we had well-nigh exhausted the principal places of note within easy reach of Canton.

The preparation of the soil for rice is a very wet affair. The ground is kept under water, for some time before the plough is put in, it is then turned over and

harrowed, still under water, until the field acquires the consistency of hasty pudding. Meanwhile a little corner, bearing about the same proportion to the entire field, as the palm of your hand might to your tablecloth, is similarly treated, and after being highly manured, is thickly sown with rice, which is allowed to grow until it is some six or eight inches high, when it is scooped out in bunches, with a sort of trowel; and these being laid in rows along the field, the planters go in, and with the hand, press down the plants into the soft smooth soil; working with great rapidity, and extreme accuracy, both as regards straightness of line, and intervals of distance. It is a striking reflection, when on the top of the White Cloud Mountains at harvest time, and the country for more than a hundred square miles at your feet looks like a patchwork of brown paper, of slightly different shades, laid out to dry, to consider that every individual plant of that immense mass, has been put in by hand. And yet the fields never look crowded; the bustle of the town is never seen in the country; indeed, it generally looks as if one man was by himself, cultivating his own land single-handed.

All the time that the rice is growing, it is more or less flooded: when it is ripe, the water is allowed to run off, and the fields dry up. The custom about Canton was to thresh it out in the fields as it was cut. A large tub was placed in a convenient spot, having a raised sort of splash-board round the back and sides; and the threshers, taking a handful of the straw, threshed it over the tub, by striking it against the inner front edge. The rice now is in a husk a good deal like barley, and just as difficult to shell out. I never could make out how we got the white grain, till I saw them

putting it in a sort of mill, of the following kind : a heavy cylinder of wood, scored on the bottom with cross saw cuts like a butter-pat, is made to revolve on either a stone or wooden fixed cylinder, also scored. There is a hole in the centre of the upper one, through which the mill is fed ; and the upper surface of the lower one slopes down from the centre to circumference, allowing the grain after a sufficient rubbing, to fall out from between the two ; after which it is winnowed, and becomes rice, such as we are accustomed to see in shops. I must say I never about Canton saw any equal to the best rice in the English markets. The rice sown in April, is cut about July : a second crop is then sown, which is cut in September and October.

The ploughing and harrowing are mostly done by cattle, almost the only use to which they are put, as the Chinese are not beef-eaters. I believe the cow is considered too useful an animal to be wantonly devoured, and it is only in certain districts that the country is favourable for the herding of cattle ; and from these places alone, can beef be obtained for the foreign consumption ; the supply being in the hands of contractors, who provide for foreign wants, in a manner that the ordinary resources of the country do not admit of.

Going through a place called "Po-tee-shuey" one day about this time, I was surprised to see enormous baskets full of little ducklings, some apparently only a few days old, and all for sale : their owners bundled them about by the handful, and piled them up in baskets, as if they sold them by the peck. Wandering about, I came to a building from whence some were being carried out. I entered, and here was an egg-hatching establishment. I went from room to room,

but only saw what appeared to be eggs laid out on shelves to be kept cool. At last I entered one of them, and there were a couple of men with a basket on the floor, with young ducks in it. All at once is heard "pip, chip,"—out pops a bit of duck from an egg under your nose; "chip, pip" on the other side—out comes another: you see the place is all alive, you don't know which way to turn first; they are chipping all round. After you have become equal to the situation, you see that the men are busily employed in releasing the little things as soon as they make known their readiness, by breaking the shell. They are then put down in the basket: some are too impatient to wait for help, and go chirping and tumbling about till espied and captured. After a time they are taken out into a yard, where they are kept in little enclosures within a mat wall some six inches high, where they run about, and hunt flies. They are sparingly fed with some green leaves chopped small, and then, it appears, are sent off to market.

I have related the process as I saw it, beginning at the wrong end. Taking it in the proper order, the first thing appeared to be to put the eggs in layers, each layer on a cloth, within a tall, cylindrical grass basket of thick texture: this basket stood within a similar larger one, the intervening space being filled with rice chaff. These eggs were dexterously turned from time to time: the man took up the cloth by the four corners, gave it a wriggle, and every egg was turned. He then laid the cloth in again.

I could observe no fires or flues of any kind, but I believe the damp in the chaff causes a warmth which vivifies the eggs. After which it appears that the egg does not require so much heat, to bring the bird to

maturity; for, as I said before, they were only laid out on shelves as if to be kept cool, the ordinary temperature of the room being apparently about eighty degrees. Every egg was warm, and in those most forward, you could hear the little things move, and make a noise inside the shell.

This is the only way in which I can account for it,—that a considerable heat (perhaps one hundred degrees) is required for a limited time, to bring to life the embryo, after which a moderate warmth of, I believe, eighty degrees will bring the thing to maturity. If it were not so,—that is, if eighty degrees are sufficient throughout the time, the eggs in egg-shops in tropical climates, where that is a common temperature for weeks together, would go popping off as they get old enough. But a higher temperature being required, in the first instance, to bring it to life, a spontaneous hatch is hardly possible.

There must have been several thousands of eggs in this place, all being hatched. And this is, I believe, one of the great nurseries for those wonderful duck-boats of which every one has heard, in which the last duck who enters, when called home at bed-time, is invariably whipped, be he never so eager to get in before his predecessor. These ducks are a perfect sight, but they are rather washy and mean, as an article of food. I never tasted a duck or goose in China, which could compare with ours in flavour.

The prospect of our being again kept at home by the summer heats, as well as by the wet state of the country during the period of the rice-growing, gave us a motive to improve our resources within the city. So we built an American bowling-alley and a racquet-court. They were both a decided success. We had a refresh-

ment-stall attached to the former: it was covered in with matting, and supplied with easy-chairs, and during the whole period of our stay, was always the most pleasant place of rendezvous which we had. The great time was in the evening, for an hour or so before dinner, when every one dropped in, and sides were made, and close and scientific contests ensued for the stakes of ante-prandial sherry and bitters, for the conquerors.

The bowling-alley looked on to the cricket-ground, and the racquet-court was close adjoining. This was so perfect as to demand especial notice.

The great difficulty in a racquet-court is its expense, and the great expense consists in getting a sufficiently smooth hard surface for the end wall. It is usually constructed for this purpose of stone, or plaster made of the very best cement, which is, of course, expensive. Brick is neither hard nor smooth enough. After some trials we made ours as follows:—The whole of the walls were of brick, and the floor of large square tiles, above an inch thick, laid on sand. As we were unable to get good plaster, the end wall was built with a number of wood bricks let in to receive nails; tiles were then prepared, having small furrows about three-quarters of an inch long and a quarter of an inch deep, cut in what would be the upper and lower edges of the tile, were it set up on edge; one at a short distance from either corner. Every tile was thus indented. The mode of fixing them was to set a course of the tiles, drive nails, with large flat square heads, into the wood bricks immediately above the top of the tiles placed on edge, slightly tap down the nail, until half the head was hidden in the groove cut in the tile; then another row of tiles was set on; the under grooves receiving

the upper half of the nail's head ; and thus the facing of the end wall was carried up perfectly fair, and with close joints.

The next thing was to colour it, for of course the red tiles did not allow of the players getting a fair sight of the ball.

We had an admirable mixture for this : lampblack boiled with rice, and a proportion of spirit added, and applied quite hot. It dried up immediately, was hand-rubbed as soon as dry, and after that never cracked, nor came off on the ball, and was never sticky, as paint might be.

It was really a most satisfactory affair altogether ; and the plan is well worthy of a good trial, when a more perfect court cannot be obtained. Of course, the surface of a tile being only about fifteen inches square, you do not get so true a face, as with large stones, or plaster, but it really answered very well, and we used to have capital games. It was roofed over with bamboo, in which were fixed skylight-windows, made of the laminæ of oyster-shell, as commonly used by the Chinese ; which had in this particular case, the advantage of admitting light without too great a glare. We were, however, provided with roller-blinds for them if required. Our marker was a Chinese boy, who picked up a sufficient knowledge of the game in a very short time.

CHAPTER XII.

We proceed to the north—Amoy—Docks—Different dialects in China—Street boys—Foo-chow and the River “Min”—Shanghai—Conjurors and street artists—We sail for the Pei-ho.

I MUST now leave the garrison of Canton to their racquets and bowls, cricket and theatricals; also to the weariness and *ennui*, the heat and mosquitoes, and unsatisfactory feeling of being left behind, and ask you to accompany me in the expedition to the north; undertaken for the purpose of the ratification of the treaty already concluded, in June 1858, at Tien-tsin, by Lord Elgin.

We left Canton on the 17th May, and after spending some days of preparation in Hong Kong, sailed for the north on the 26th.

I had the good fortune to be given a passage on board the “Inflexible,” which conveyed Admiral Hope, who intended visiting some of the ports on his way up. The last distinguished passenger had been Yeh, who was conveyed in this vessel to Calcutta.

We called in at Amoy, and spent a day there. An attempt was being made in this place, under circumstances of some difficulty, to construct a dock, a naval necessity which is very much required on the Chinese coast. There are some at Whampoa, on the Canton River, constructed by the late Mr. Cooper, who was kidnapped by the Chinese shortly before the taking of Canton, and

imprisoned for some time, when he ultimately died. Strict inquiries were made as to his fate, and the native prisons were searched as soon as possible after the capture of the city. Some time later five coffins were pointed out on the Hill of Malefactors as containing the bodies of foreigners, of which his was supposed to be one. A Chinese prisoner gave an account of an aged white-haired foreigner who had died in the prison, and there can be no doubt of the fact. The remains were properly interred at Whampoa. His son worked hard, with the assistance of Mr. Parkes and others, in clearing up the sad fate of the poor old man. Poor Mr. Cooper had been carried off actually from his own chop-boat, in which he was living, under circumstances of the coolest daring on the part of the miscreants. They rowed up to the boat, and sent in a message to say they wished to speak to him on business. As this was by no means an unusual event, he went out as a matter of course to speak to them, though cautioned by his daughter not to do so. They seized and, I suppose, gagged him, and carried him off, and he was never seen again until the coffin was opened months later, when the native prisoner's story, and some locks of grey hair, by which his remains were identified, gave evidence as to his ultimate fate.

Hong Kong also has been provided with an excellent dock at the back of the island, at a place called Aberdeen. This is the result of private enterprise, and from being much in requisition, it is, I hope, remunerative. There is, I believe, no government dock nearer than Calcutta. However, I imagine that in the appropriation of our recent acquisition of the promontory of "Kowloon," immediately opposite Hong Kong, a provision will be made for supplying this great want. At

Shanghae there is a dock, but at the time I was there, a difficulty existed as to the means of opening and closing it, which rendered the accommodation it afforded very expensive.

At Amoy the women dress the hair in a different way from that common at Canton, and are fond of wearing flowers in it. I think the appearance of the men does not vary so much between districts as does that of the women. We are unaccustomed to see countries so large as China, and perhaps, really, the universality of costume should be more remarked over so great an area, than the difference. In respect of language, the same written character exists throughout the whole empire, though the pronunciation varies in a very great degree. The pure language, or mandarin, is spoken commonly about Pekin, but in the provinces, none but the educated are able to converse in mandarin, and not all of them.

The difference is so great as to render it almost impossible to follow what is said. Indeed, for all practical purposes they are different languages. I have known a statement made before the Commissioners at Canton, by a man from a distance, pass through four different interpreters before it could be got into mandarin; the dialects being so numerous and various, and few persons being found acquainted with more than one or two. Yet all would express themselves on paper in the same character. The common expression of a Chinaman when asked to interpret a sentence spoken in a dialect different from his own is, "That man does not know how to speak."

At the time of our visit, Amoy was troubled by turbulent boys: the Chinese are not free from that universal evil. There is no nuisance so great, so

difficult to lay hold of or punish, as a gang of troublesome idle boys. When well-organized, they must be the bane of even our policemen's existence. So it was at Amoy ; dirty little boys laughed at, hooted, insulted, and even threw brickbats, at distinguished foreigners. It was hard to bear their insult with equanimity, how much more so their missiles ! To punish them was difficult, for to catch them was impossible ; and to chase them the best lark you could afford them, and the greatest stimulant to a continuance of the practice. The only thing was to complain to the authorities : the answer, of course, was what every one expected. " Very wrong, indeed ; only bring one to *me*, and see how he will be punished : still, boys will be boys,"—and so on. Whether the Amoy boys, growing to man's estate, will be succeeded by other boys I do not know ; but I think it is more than likely. And it is very possible the fashion still exists of practical jokes against foreigners.

" Foo-chow " is the prettiest of the open ports ; situated on the River " Min," it cannot be closely approached by vessels of any size ; they are forced to anchor about six miles up the river, where they are loaded from chop-boats in the same way that the vessels at Whampoa receive on board the Canton goods. We went up to the town in a gun-boat : the upper part of the river was immensely crowded with junks, most of them loaded with large cargoes of fir-timber, which was piled up in huge floating masses on each side of the junk and made fast to it. The great unwieldy mass was then towed down the river by sampans, or row-boats, as many as fifteen or sixteen taking charge of one junk. The row caused on the starting of a batch of these was tremendous ; the fouling of junks in the first place, and then that of all their separate tugs, caused such a shouting of boatmen

and banging of each other's heads with oars, and confusion, as led one to imagine that would not be unfrequent.

For, it was said, was mainly taken in these boats. I suppose the "Min" passes through its course down to Foo-chow, and that the cargo floated down on rafts.



SCENE ON THE RIVER "MIN."

two narrow passages not far from the river Min, on both sides of which are batteries at the entrance: as the river at these spots is more than two hundred and fifty yards wide, it might be brought on passing vessels, from the river.

At Foo-chow on the 30th, we were one day at the 1st of June passed Chusan, and other islands of that Archipelago, and anchored at Chin-hae, at the mouth of the "Yang." The Admiral made a hurried stop at Ningpo, which is twelve miles up the river, on the 1st morning; and immediately on his return to Foo-chow and reached Shanghai on the 3rd.

Here the foreign settlements form a complete town in themselves, a town of villas, having, when away from the water side, a St. John's Wood sort of appearance. The French settlement is very near the walls of the native town; a creek separates it from ours; the Soochow River again divides ours from the American; each has a water frontage and a certain depth of territory, the whole being held on lease from the Chinese government. There is a very nice bund, or esplanade, in front of the British and French settlements, on which the fashionable world walks, rides, and drives in the evening, and which, during the earlier part of the day, is thronged with coolies, loading and unloading boats, and carrying about their burdens, keeping step to a chant of "Ah—ho! ah—ho!" sung by each in succession, on various notes, forming, when well led, a song by no means unpleasing; the transitions of key made from time to time, and apparently quite at pleasure, and according to the fancy of any of the party, are immediately taken up and followed by the others, with great readiness.

The merchant princes here live in great style, and dispense a portion of their wealth, with extreme liberality and hospitality. I went to China not knowing a soul, but never was at a loss for bed, or dinner, or even a home, as long as I stayed at different places. A hospitality which we soldiers, in our dens at Canton, had not the means to return.

There is often an exciting scene at Shanghae from the fouling of vessels. In the mid-stream opposite our settlement, where the two rivers meet, there is at certain times of the tide a very strong eddy, in which any floating body being caught, is whirled round and round; and a vessel so situated becomes quite un-


governable ; they sometimes anchor too near this "chow-chow water" as it is called, and when the eddy catches them, they drag their anchors, get their cables twisted into knots, and go drifting helplessly about, bumping and smashing everything in their path. A harbour-master was found essential, and duly installed into a very arduous and rather troublesome post.

The town of Shanghae is rather miserable, having suffered from rebels. It has, since our establishment there, been in the hands of both parties, and, whatever its condition might have been under pure imperialist or rebel sway, the struggle and change have been most detrimental to its welfare. In one part of the town is a quaint place, more of a public tea-garden than anything else, barring only the garden. There is a winding ditch, crossed by fantastic bridges, and edifices of rock or grotto work ; intricate paths traverse the square in all directions, and tea-houses are dotted about, where you are supposed to sit and watch the conjurors and mountebanks, who perform there for your amusement. There was a dancing bear performing in one place, when we went there, and a conjuror who was really clever, but very disgusting ; he did all sorts of disagreeable things, which, I believe, were *bonâ fide* acts and not sleight of hand : for instance, he put away several pieces of money (copper cash) between his eyelids and eyes. He poked a rusty sword all down his throat ; and not content with poking it as far as he could with his hand, he picked up a large stone, and hammered it on the hilt, to send it down the last two inches. His tricks were all more or less disgusting, and the man himself dirty and bleary-eyed, as indeed he should be, if his eyes had no particular affinity for dirty copper.

But the best of them all was an artist, something in the

pavement-chalking line. He had a piece of board some two feet square, a basin of indigo mixed up with water, and a bit of sponge. He first smeared the board all over with the blue paint, and then, whilst it was still wet, began with his finger to rub off the colour, and leave the representation of a beast or any given subject.

His best was a lobster: he began rubbing his finger round and round, and produced with wonderful skill the effect of the larger scales; then, with the back of the nail of his forefinger, he made little spurts from the end of the tail, to give the effect of that sort of frill which borders it. The joints of the claws were rendered something in the same way, by elastic or springy touches of the top or side of the finger; the great claw being made broad and forcible with the thumb; the points and serrated edge were given with the nail. The eyes were done by working the top of his forefinger several times round in the proper place, until a drop of thickish colour was collected under the finger, which he then rather slowly raised, giving it a little slide on one side in doing so; the drop was left at the end of the little smudge, and the effect of the projecting eye of the lobster was wonderfully produced: even the roughness of the long feeler was managed, by a vibratory scratch with the nail rather against the grain of the wood, the pressure or turning of the edge of the long nail giving to it the tapering form. The whole thing was done in little more time than it takes to describe, and the effect of a beautifully-drawn lobster, accurately shaded with indigo, on a dark-blue ground, produced apparently in the most off-hand, careless manner. Hardly was it finished, (and before you had time sufficiently to admire it,) when he took up the remorseless sponge, smeared it all over with the blue colour, and



began again with a dragon or fish, or some other design.

I rather unfairly called upon him to represent the bear which was performing not far off. I am bound to say that it was not so successful; he certainly had not studied the beast, as he gave it a long tail; yet he evidently had general principles as to the way in which he should go to work with his finger to produce a certain effect on the board. The intricate and involved tails of his contending dragons must have been studied and well learned, for he never seemed to make a mistake in them.

The idea, originated by the emperor's secret edict, that our reception at the Pei-ho might not be of a friendly nature gathered strength from what we heard at Shanghae; and Admiral Hope spared no pains in getting everything prepared for the event of hostilities. All was ready by the 10th June, when we sailed and anchored at the mouth of the River Yang-tsze-kiang to wait for the Admiral, who joined us on the 12th, bringing with him the welcome English mail, in expectation of which he had remained behind.

CHAPTER XIII.

Unsuccessful attack on the Pei-ho forts.

ON the 16th June, we reached the rendezvous at the "Sha-lui-tien island," and on the 17th, the "Fury" took the Admiral with some other officers to within about six miles of the forts, where she anchored, and we transferred ourselves to the gun-boats "Plover" and "Starling," on board which we moved some three miles nearer in, the state of the tide at that time not admitting of our approaching closer.

The Admiral then directed two boats to be prepared, to go to the shore, and communicate with the authorities. On approaching the forts, the first thing we met with in the way of impediment was a row of iron stakes, placed at intervals all across the river; one of these, which we saw slung to a junk's mast, and in the act of being lowered, was duly examined and sketched. Its lower part consisted of three iron-pointed legs, on which it stood firmly; the stake rose from the junction of these legs, to a total height of about twenty-five feet, and from near the same point, an arm stretched out in a slanting position towards the front, pointing upwards, and having its point rather below the top of the main stake. At high water in mid-stream, this point would be a little under water, and would deal a severe blow to the bottom of an approaching vessel.

These obstacles were about twenty feet apart, and were rather awkward things, as we did not know what they were like, till after we had passed them; and the tide was rushing through them so quickly, that we had to back water to prevent our being carried with too great force against any hidden danger. However, after we had seen the specimen one, we feared them no longer, as there was room to pass clearly between them.

We were now well under the South Fort, and the stream swept us up rapidly to the next obstacle, which we could not clearly see. This did not extend across the entire width of the river. It appeared to be a cable or chain stretched across, partly floated by beams attached to it longitudinally, covered with iron hooks. This thing was never completed, and I think it must have given way, for I did not see it during the attack. On this day we noticed it more from the ripple it caused, than from actually seeing it.

We passed by the south end of this obstacle, where there was a clear passage, and came speedily to the next. This consisted of a series of pontoon-shaped timbers; that is, logs of wood fixed together so as to form cylinders with conical ends; each one was about twenty-four feet long, and eighteen inches in diameter; these were used to float two chains and a cable across the river, in the following way:—The cylinders had each a hole in the centre, through which the cable passed, and they were arranged along it, at intervals of about fifteen feet; large chains were stretched across the river underneath the ends of the cylinders, and attached to either end of each cylinder, by smaller chains. This was a wise arrangement, for it would be possible to cut the chain which passed over the end of the cylinder; but if this were done, the great chain

would only be dropped a few inches, not divided in its length, and it was stretched too deeply to enable one to get at it to work actually upon it. It is curious that years ago, Admiral Hope, when a captain, was engaged in cutting through a chain stretched across Lagos River under a very heavy fire, and Captain Commerell, in whose boat I now was, was on that occasion a midshipman, sitting at Hope's side. It was a very gallant and successful affair, and gained for Hope the Companionship of the Bath.

Of course there were a number of anchors laid out, both up and down stream, to keep the boom from being washed away. It was altogether a very perfect thing; indeed I think the best of the kind I ever heard of. It afforded so much waterway for the tide, and was so elastic (if one may use the term), that it would be extremely difficult to burst through it; and from the judicious arrangement of the chains, it would be hard to destroy it by other means. This obstacle did not completely close up the passage, and we pulled through. There was above us a very large raft of timber, in a mass, extending across the river, with a narrow opening about its centre.

All this time we had created some little excitement, though there was no noise. The embrasures were thronged, and some men and boys came down from the battery to the jetties; but there was no display of flags, nor tom-tomming, nor any of the usual parade of soldiers, nor was any one to be seen on the walls. We attempted to land at a jetty immediately above the boom, but could not get beyond a decked boat, or lighter, which was lying alongside; as a number of men, armed with rather a miscellaneous collection of weapons, crowded down, and rudely kept us back.

In reply to Mr. Mongan's questions, we were told that there was no mandarin nor person in authority in the place, that there were no troops, that the works we saw had been undertaken by the villagers to guard themselves against the possible attack of rebels, and that the people around, a set of ragged men and boys with rusty spears and jingalls, were the only persons responsible for the place.

To this we made answer: "To your precautions against rebels we have no objection to make; but at this particular time no fear of their arrival need be entertained, during the presence of our fleet; and, therefore, an opening sufficient for the passage of our vessels on a peaceful errand to Tien-tsin, in accordance with the arrangements already made, with the imperial commissioners, might with safety and propriety be made." We said, also, that in three days we should be ready to avail ourselves of it.

To this they replied: "This work has taken many months to execute—how can it be removed in three days?" We rejoined that we did not ask to have it removed, but merely that practicable openings should be made, to admit of our passage. The leading man then promised that our wishes should be attended to, and that our arrival should be immediately reported to the proper authorities.

We then returned to the "Plover," which had by this time moved close up to the iron stakes.

An hour later the Admiral sent us on shore again with a farther communication. This time we made as if for the jetty, where we had gone before, and the people came crowding down; but changing our course suddenly, and pulling hard, we went on, passed through the opening in the timber raft, and reached a jetty,

above where we had landed, before they could get round to us ; and we were trying to get up to the forts, when they came down, and stopped us rather more rudely than before—perhaps pardonably so. After observing as much as we could, we returned to the gunboat, rejoined the “Fury,” and went out again to the fleet.

On the following day the whole force moved on to within eight miles of the forts. On the 20th I visited the shore again. Instead of making any openings for our vessels, they had completely closed up that through which we had passed before. They were more violent than on that occasion ; and, on attempting to jump on shore, I was pushed back, and narrowly escaped falling into the river. We observed that there was a wet ditch in front of the works, and, watching the men coming out, we could see by their looking down as they walked, and balancing themselves with their arms, that they passed over a narrow bridge. The duration of this mode of walking, and the number of steps they took, gave us an idea of the width of the ditch.

On the 21st the French and American squadrons arrived at our anchorage. The time till the 24th was employed in making preparations for hostilities, in case of our being fired upon when attempting to ascend the river ; and on that day some junks which had been taken, were occupied by our troops as barracks within the bar, as the large vessels outside would be too far off to afford convenient shelter to them. Some of these junks were also turned into stores. They were all anchored in certain order, just out of range of the forts, and had numbered flags to distinguish them : they held about a hundred men each. The crews of the junks remained on board, and the cargoes were unmolested :

ours consisted of sugar and rice. There were water-tanks on board, just in front of the high quarter-deck on one side, and in ours, in a corresponding position on the other side, were three casks full apparently of lime. When we touched these, the crew came forward with great anxiety, and explained that they contained the corpses of three of their number, who having died at sea, or in some remote district, they were desirous of conveying to their native homes for proper interment, and that to that end they had potted them down, and headed them up in casks of lime. Our first impulse was to throw them overboard; but reflection speedily showed that such a course would be barbarous. We considered that there was something touching in the brotherly solicitude of these men cruising about with the remains of their departed companions; so, as they were perfectly sweet, and we were not afraid of ghosts, we respected their scruples, and allowed the bodies to remain.

My native servant "Aman" took quite another line. He was most anxious that we should broach the casks, and see "if *truly* have got dead man inside." On being questioned why, he said, "Perhaps have got sycee silver; they too muchee fear that pylong man (pirate). They put that silver inside, talkee have got dead man, so no man can makee break, look see."

I thought that if they had adopted such a ruse, they quite deserved to have their ingenuity rewarded, so the casks were still held sacred.

Aman was also very anxious that I should allow him to accompany me if we should attack the forts. He entreated me to let him come if I thought it would be "a serious pigeon," or severe engagement. On my warning him that, being in native dress, he would probably be shot as a Chinese soldier, he suggested that I

should lend him a suit of uniform. It was hard to persuade him that he had better remain behind; he kept harping on the same request, "only if it should be a serious pigeon."

The suggestion offered by the Chinese that Peh-tang was the way by which Mr. Bruce should visit Peking having been rejected by him, and Admiral Hope having been directed to procure him a passage to Tien-tsin by the Pei-ho, we proceeded on the 25th to carry out these instructions.

The gun-boats were brought up, and anchored in position a short distance below the iron stakes, forming an échelon line across the river, being at a mean range of eight hundred yards from the forts. The marines were left in the junks, to be used in the event of a landing; the Engineers were distributed among the different gun-boats, to act as marksmen to fire on the embrasures; and each little detachment of that corps had an assortment of tools and implements to use when put on shore, so that with each party that landed there should be a provision of this kind.

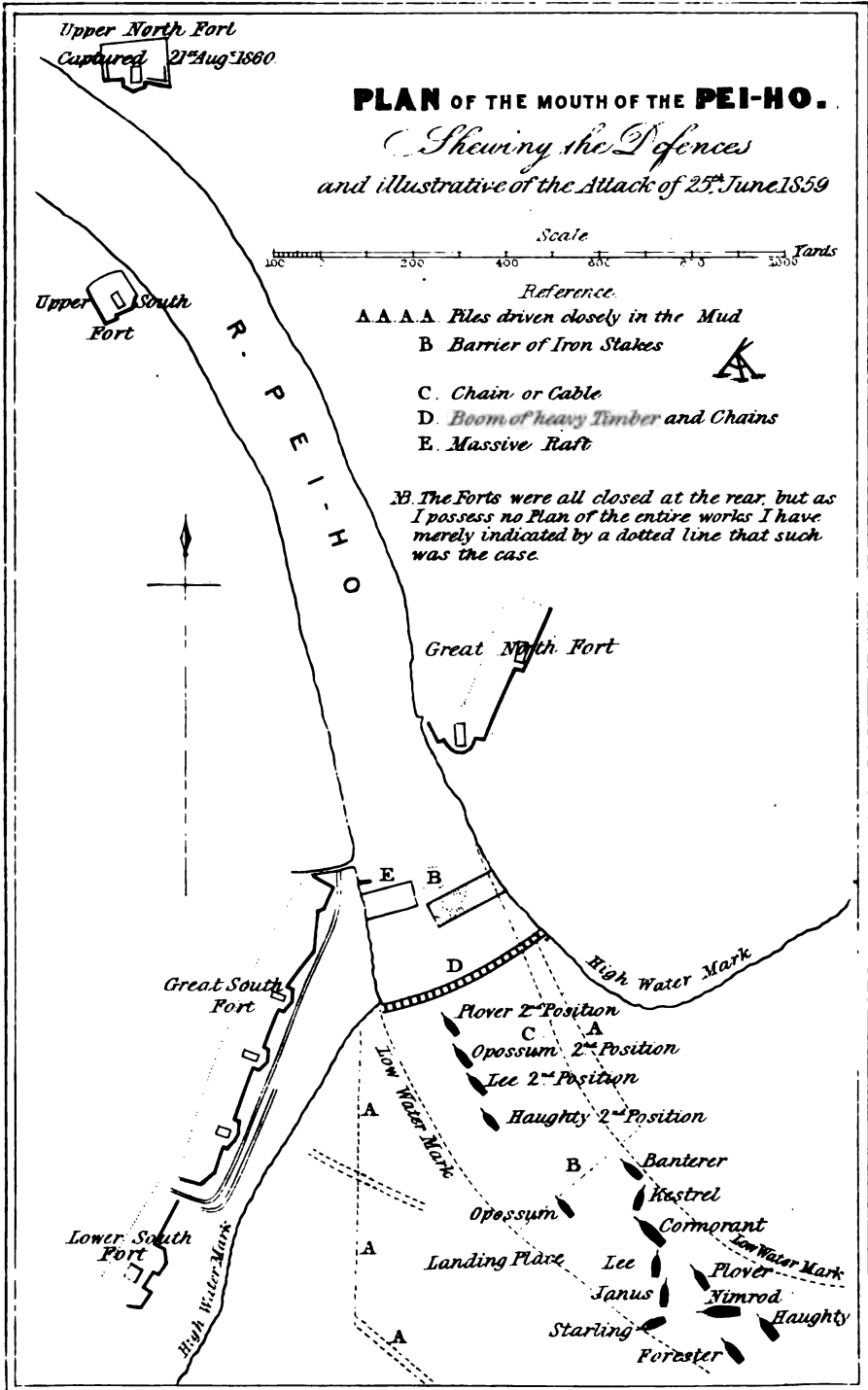
Our first object was to force our way through the booms, and take up a position above the forts, from which they could be enfiladed, and partly taken in reverse; after which the marines were to be landed in front to consummate the victory. With this view, an attempt had been made at night by a party of seamen, under Captain Willes, to blow up the principal boom, which was only partially successful. It was, however, still thought possible to complete the work, by bursting through it.

Having with some trouble, (owing to the strength of the flood-tide,) got into position, we lay at anchor, waiting for the ebb, when each vessel ascending and an-

Upper North Fort
Captured 21st Aug 1860.

PLAN OF THE MOUTH OF THE PEI-HO.

*Shewing the Defences
and illustrative of the Attack of 25th June 1859*



choring by the bow, would have its heavy gun always directed to the front: the men were piped to dinner. It was a hot sultry day, myriads of dragon-flies flitted through the air, and danced around us. The Admiral with his flag-lieutenant and secretary were busy, seeing that every vessel was duly placed. Lieutenant Rason, commanding the "Plover;" Captain M'Kenna, of the Royals, military staff-officer to the admiral, and myself attacked a piece of cold, hard salt beef, and talked over our prospects. How cheerfully, yet anxiously, we discussed the chances of the fight! before very many minutes both were dead. How sadly sudden it was! We were talking so happily, basking in the sun, and full of hope; yet how soon was our little party broken in upon! In a case of sudden death like this, one is more struck by it than at other times. Yet is it not so every day? Is it not hour by hour, and minute by minute, one is taken and the other left?

Meanwhile everything lay in a dreamy state in the heavy sultry heat; the men talked in under-tones over their dinners; the dragon-flies flitted around; the forts lay like great monsters sleeping on the mud bank; not a sound was heard in them, nor flag seen. Occasionally two or three men grouped themselves on the summit of one of the high cavaliers, gazed at us, and then descended. Once two men came out of an embrasure: one drove pointed stakes in the ground in front of the works, another strewed crows' feet¹ by the handful over the ground, and they went in again. Suddenly the shrill pipe resounded, the men sprung up—the tide had turned—we must be up and moving.

¹ Crows' feet are bunches of iron spikes, four in each, and arranged in a star-like form, so that in every position three points rest on the ground, whilst the fourth stands up vertically.

It was now two o'clock—the crew were beat to quarters, the guns were loaded, and the “Opossum” went to the front. Quietly she lay alongside the stakes, made fast a hawser round one of them, turned her engines astern, backed out of the way with her burthen, and dropped it on one side; again she went up and removed another, and deposited it; and then laid down buoys to mark the opening thus made. Meanwhile the Chinese within the fort were as still as death; everything seemed almost suspiciously hushed, like the sultry, still, oppressive feeling before a thunderstorm, on which even the chirp of the grasshopper seems to break intrusively. I myself was, however, not sure even now that we should be fired on. I had seen so much of the opposition of the Chinese—stolid and obstinate, until they see that you are in earnest, when almost unaccountably they give in. I thought that, however they might be inclined to place every obstacle in our way, and prevent to the utmost of obstructiveness, the advance of Mr. Bruce to Pekin, it was still uncertain whether they would run the risk of firing on us, with all the consequences that such an act might entail. Yet even as regards this, they had in a measure secured themselves; for we had been repeatedly told that the inhabitants of Takoo were acting entirely on their own account in opposing our passage; and, in the event of our success, we should of course be assured that the whole affair had been a mistake, and that the men who had so acted without instructions had been executed forthwith.

Whilst the “Opossum” was busy removing the stakes, a boat was sent off from the shore, containing a mandarin, who appeared to be charged with a letter or paper, which he held in his hand; however, after pulling half way to us, they returned. The passage

through the first obstacle being now clear, the "Opossum" led the way, followed closely by the "Plover," on board which vessel Admiral Hope had hoisted his flag. In succession, we strike violently against the boom, and bound back; the mats which hung in front of the embrasures are hauled up, a shot or two first pass over us, and then they come in to us hot and fast. Rason's voice rings out clear, "Let go the anchor!" and there we are in the focus of the lines of fire, riding at our anchor, and deliberately returning from our guns, the storm of shot poured on us from all sides.

The other vessels engage at once, and the action becomes general: the "Opossum" is anchored near us, the others remain in their former positions.

Here we lay for some time; it is difficult under such circumstances to estimate its duration. We soon lost a large proportion of our crew: poor Rason falls dead; M'Kenna I also saw drop. I raised him, and supported him to the cabin; he said he felt numb, but would soon be better: he had a dreadful wound in the back, close to the spine; he did not live very long. Admiral Hope is wounded, and reinforcements of men to work the big gun are sent for; the unequal contest continues, and a second time have we to be reinforced: we are obliged at last to slip our cable, and drop down to the stakes, where the fight is continued.

As a landsman, I was much struck with the coolness with which the navigation of the vessel was attended to; the man in the chains cries the soundings, the master gives his orders to the man at the helm and the engineers below, the helmsman has no ears or eyes but for the master's directions and signals. Douglas, the flag-lieutenant, having taken command at Rason's death,

Ashby, the secretary, takes charge of the signalling. All seem intent on what is their duty at the time being, and utterly unmindful of the struggle raging round them. Suddenly the leadsman disappears like a flash of lightning. "Poor fellow!" I ejaculate; but in a few minutes the poor fellow appears climbing up the gangway, ducked, but unhurt. The place he was standing on had been shot from under his feet, and he had fortunately caught hold of some trailing rope, as he was carried down by the stream. A gunner at my side suddenly makes an exclamation; he finds one hand and wrist only hanging to the arm by a bit of skin. He picks up the mutilated hand, and goes forward, carrying it in the other one to Dr. Hawkins, who completes the operation with a pair of scissors.

The effect of the shot on a small vessel like a gun-boat is much more unpleasant than on shore, for whereas in the latter case, if they miss you, you do not care much where they go; in a gun-boat, wherever they strike, you feel the shock; they come in through the bulwarks, scatter fragments and splinters, a hammock is knocked in your face, and occasionally the yards are shot through, and come tumbling about your head. The 32-pounder which we had, jumped and made a tremendous noise, and our friends' rockets, skimming over us, were much more alarming than the enemy's shot. The whole thing, to an idle observer like myself, was in the aggregate a chaos, yet in detail beautiful organization and order.

This sort of thing lasted till five, when the enemy's fire had slackened; but we had not escaped scatheless. The "Kestrel" and "Lee" were sinking, several vessels were aground and in a bad way, and all very much injured. It was then determined to land the

Marines, to take advantage of the effect which might have been produced by our cannonade, and with our landing-party fresh and eager for action, to try the mettle of our antagonists in hand-to-hand combat. Never had they been known to stand the cheer and charge of our men; willing as they were to fight with artillery as long as we chose to encourage them. The Chinese saying is, "No two piecey man can stop in one man's place; suppose you must come, I must go."

And this trial it was determined to make. The American commodore kindly gave up his steamer, the "Towey-wan," to bring up our boats, and many were the jokes made upon the name, by the lighthearted Marines, as they came up in tow. The boats were assembled below the stakes, and with hearty, ringing cheers they started in a headlong race for the mud bank, opposite the southern or lower bastion of the great South Fort.

Here, as the boats grounded, the men jumped eagerly overboard; many going out over the stern, instead of the bow, and getting into deep water, wetted their ammunition, and rendered their rifles unserviceable. A portion of the force pressed on as skirmishers, whilst others struggled to bring up the ladders and portable bridges, which had been prepared for crossing the ditches. On these men the enemy's fire was especially directed, and they suffered great loss. The extent of mud we had to traverse was between five hundred and six hundred yards. It was over the ankles, and stiffish wading; but there were holes in it, probably dug on purpose, in which one was likely to get, unless one walked very circumspectly; and here the mud was much softer and deeper, and many and many a man fell in

these holes, and got his rifle stuffed up with mud. At about four hundred yards from the edge of the mud we came to a row of stakes or piles, driven about four feet apart, and two or three feet high. Here, the men being exhausted, rather halted, and delayed, and in consequence suffered a loss; for the fire seemed to be particularly heavy at this point: probably these stakes were driven to check the approach of attacking boats at high water, and were consequently expressly commanded by the guns of the works.

About one hundred yards from these was a bed of green rushes, perhaps forty yards wide; after which a little more mud, and then a ditch about fifteen feet wide, and five feet deep: this was tidal, and at the time of the assault was consequently nearly dry, but extremely difficult to cross, from the great tenacity of the mud. Having dashed into it rather impetuously, I thought I should never get out. I was really some minutes crawling across. Here also many a rifle got full of mud. A few yards in front of this was another ditch, but this was kept full of water; and it was quite a pleasure to have something to swim in, after all the sticky walking we had had. I was unfortunate enough here, when swimming, to kick up my scabbard, and drop my sword to the bottom. The earth excavated for this ditch had been thrown up on the bank, and gave us a little cover, under which we squatted, with our legs in the water, waiting for the bridges and ladders to be brought up, to enable the mass of the men to get across: but it became evident before long that the attack must fail; the bridges were shot to pieces; three ladders only were brought up, and these were soon broken. There were about sixty of us in the front ditch, and perhaps half a dozen serviceable rifles.

We sent back for dry ammunition and spare arms, as our only chance, but it was evident that the assault had failed. And shortly after, an order was sent to us to remain under cover, if we could, until dark, and till the tide should rise, when boats should be sent to bring us off. So here we lay, huddled up against the bank, with our legs in the ditch, whilst the enemy plied us with shot and arrows, which, however, could not do us much harm so long as we lay close, until it struck them to fire their arrows vertically, so that they fell among us. They also fired a kind of light-ball, of which the burning composition fell among us. We were about twenty yards from the work. The space in front of us was covered with pointed stakes, driven in the ground, and the bank, in front and behind us, was like a hedgehog's back, from the arrows sticking in it. We soon got pretty jolly, and you could hear a voice in the dark, "Who has got a light? has any one a light?" Some one was evidently adapting himself to the circumstances. Between eight and nine P.M., it struck us that it would be unpleasant if the enemy popped out unawares, so we swam back across the front ditch, and placed it between us and the work; lying in the next, which was now getting filled by the flowing tide, and where we were secure from attack.

At about ten P.M. we sent away all the wounded, allowing those without rifles, or having disabled weapons, to conduct them; thus, by degrees, we reduced our numbers, and eventually all got down to the water's edge, when we waded out to the boats sent for us. By midnight I got on board the "Opossum," and soon after daybreak was sent back to my junk. Here I found not twenty of my men, and was in despair; but they gradually turned up, some from one

vessel and some from another; and on the whole, considering the double action in which they had been engaged, having been both in the gun-boats and on the mud, we were better off than I had dared to hope. I had one officer badly wounded, and of eighty-two men engaged, three were killed, and about sixteen wounded; there were many more scratched and contused; but the above were proper, fair wounds. One of the number died a few days later. The doctor's work now began in earnest; I was told that Dr. Little performed thirty-nine amputations in thirteen consecutive hours, and they all did very well. The Admiral wisely ordered them off as soon as possible to "Kin-tang," an island in the Chusan archipelago, for change of air and scene.

Many very plucky attempts were made to get off the grounded vessels, which were four in number. The "Kestrel" and "Lee" had sunk in action on the 25th, in deep water, but the "Plover" and "Cormorant," which grounded in the evening, we hoped might yet be saved. However, they were so pounded by the enemy, that all our attempts proved unavailing, and they were eventually blown up. The "Kestrel," however, suddenly one day, the third after the action, quietly rose by herself, and drifted composedly down the river. She was immediately seized by the navy, run on the shore in a favourable spot, patched up, and cleared of her mud, and is now as well as can be expected, still serving her Majesty on the Chinese station. On the 11th of July, the squadron sailed southwards, as it was evident that with the means at our disposal it was utterly useless to attempt further operations that season. It was known that except by entering a river it would be impossible for a gun-boat to approach within range of the shore, even at high water, any-

where on this part of the coast; and we were not so provided with either men or artillery as to be able to conduct independent operations at a distance from our vessels. Still though we knew thus much, we were lamentably deficient in knowledge of the country. We hardly knew anything of the existence of the "Peh-tang-ho," the river designated by the Chinese as that by which Mr. Bruce should ascend to Tien-tsin; and whence, later, Mr. Ward, the American minister, actually made his pilgrimage to Peking. Some of the charts, indeed, showed that there was some such river; but there was evidently no real knowledge of the spot, a conventional embouchure only being shown, and the survey of the Pei-ho, from Tien-tsin to the sea, made by M. de Ploix, a French naval surveyor, indicated no river whatever entering the Pei-ho between Tien-tsin and its mouth. That this was the route for us to take, was also completely disproved, from the fact of Mr. Ward's having to make the journey in a covered cart, maliciously described at the time as "a box." Accordingly I was directed to remain in these regions to survey the coast, and to look for points which we could in future operations use as a base. The "Cruiser" was left behind for this purpose, and two gun-boats, the "Forester" and "Starling."

CHAPTER XIV.

I remain in the Gulf of Peh-chili—Tidings of prisoners—Chefoo and its resources—Teng-choo-foo—We run a risk of being captured—Compulsory sale of fat sheep—Toki Island—Donkey-beef and cow-beef—We sail for the Great Wall.

As soon as our fleet had departed, we went and paid our respects to the American commodore, whose squadron retained possession of the anchorage, as Mr. Ward's negotiations were being carried on at the "Peh-tang-ho." We were anxious to hear what they could tell us of the place, and of their experiences of it, as we intended shortly to make it the subject of our own explorations. They said it was fortified in the same manner as the Pei-ho, though the forts were not so large. The two rivers had about the same depth of water. We were told that there were twelve English prisoners taken, who were at Tien-tsin, and well cared for. On our inquiring as to the authority, we were told that it was likely to be authentic, but that it could not be mentioned. From this, and from the fact of there being one or two missionaries on board, we concluded that the intelligence had been communicated by native Christians in confidence. Mr. Ward kindly assured us that if he found any of our countrymen prisoners at Tien-tsin, he would do his utmost to procure their release. The visits to the shore in any spot other than that laid down by the native authorities for meetings were not unattended with danger: one

boatload of missionaries and others, who attempted to visit a village on the beach near Peh-tang, was put to flight by Tartars, who rode into the sea in pursuit of the zealous and adventurous explorers.

As we were anxious to communicate to our fleet the news of the prisoners, we made haste to follow it; and on the following day got within signalling distance of the "Highflyer," to whom we announced the report. I may as well say here that it was much exaggerated. Two prisoners only were taken; they were boat-keepers, who got adrift, and were carried by the tide helplessly up to the fort; one man died, I believe, of dysentery, the other was given up to Mr. Ward on his application for him.

We were now left quite to ourselves to do the best we could; to gain as much information as possible; and had permission to take our own time about it, being only limited by the quantity of provisions we had in store. As regards the work, our conditions were: Given a certain extent of coast to be surveyed, and a certain quantity of beef, pork, biscuit, and rum to be consumed; what is the amount of accuracy and detail to be devoted to each part of the work, in order to give the greatest value to the entire survey?

The result was, that having completed all the work, we returned to Shanghai on the 14th September, having only three days' provisions in some articles, and not very much of anything.

We had a most valuable and necessary auxiliary in Mr. Adkins, who acted as our interpreter: the same spirit of enterprise which made him so useful to us prompted him to remain as sole British representative in Peking during the winter of 1860-61, after the departure of our troops southward.

It was obvious that with a view to getting information, and being allowed to land unmolested, it was necessary to avoid any hostilities; and also to have some excuse for the frequent visits we should make to the shore. The pretext of seeking provisions and fresh water appeared the best, as the want would naturally recur from time to time, and the information gained from conversation on these subjects, would be the most important we could have. Trade also would form a convenient subject, as it would embrace supplies, towns, population, transit of goods, roads, vehicles, beasts of burthen, and many useful points. So we entered upon our work as hungry, thirsty, discontented adventurers, intensely stupid, misunderstanding all that was said to us, and never able to take a hint.

Before commencing our surveying, we determined to visit "Chefoo" and "Teng-choo-foo," two towns some forty miles apart, on the Shan-tung promontory; the latter of which had been mentioned as one of the ports to be opened to western trade in Lord Elgin's treaty. We arrived on the 14th at "Chefoo," or "Foo-shan," as they said it should be called, Foo-shan being the name of the rock which forms the harbour, and Chefoo that of the town. We found a number of vessels lying in the harbour, of European build and rig, of which three or four were English, but the greater part Siamese, some of which had English commanders. They were engaged in coasting trade, principally bringing sugar from the south, and taking down grain. The English vessels were of the class called receiving ships, or floating warehouses; they were not doing very much business, except in opium, for which there was rather a demand. Immediately on anchoring we were visited by our countrymen, who were eager

to hear the news, as the only information they had received regarding the engagement had been from natives. The account they had given appeared to be correct in the main; they had not exaggerated the number of vessels which we had lost, but said three had been "broken." They had also reported that three thousand Russians had fought there, and that a body of five hundred were expected to come down for their defence; but by Russians they meant evidently the Northern Tartars, who are quite distinct from the Chinese, speaking a different language, and not even employing the same character.

When we went on shore, we found them all very friendly: it was evidently thoroughly a trading place, there was not a vestige of a soldier to be seen anywhere: there was, indeed, a guard-house on a rocky promontory which sheltered the anchorage, and which appeared to be provided with many deadly spears of various forms, standing in a rack outside; but a closer inspection showed the guard-house to be empty, and the spears, rack and all, to be merely painted on the whitewashed walls of the building. As we already possessed a good chart of the harbour, made by an officer of the Indian navy, it was unnecessary for us to devote our time to surveying, so we were at leisure to go on shore and examine the internal resources of the place. The town is small, being comprised within a rectangle of about six hundred yards side; its size does not appear commensurate with the importance of the harbour, and number of ships lying there; the goods, however, seemed to be carried immediately into the country, and not stored in the town. The houses are good and well built, very generally of stone, and have rather a Russian look about them; other houses

are constructed of sunburnt bricks of blue clay, the roofs of tile or thatch, many of the latter being covered with seaweed. Their mode of tiling is as follows :—The rafters, which are heavy, are fixed about ten feet apart, with purlins crossing them at about every five or six feet. Over these are laid fascines, or long bundles of reeds ; about six or eight reeds, each of the thickness of your little finger, to one bundle : these are placed close together, and plastered over, the tiles or thatch being laid over all. The windows are provided with wooden shutters.

This place is unfavourable for the loading and discharging of cargoes, for the beach close to which the town stands is very low and flat, and at low tide you have, if you wish to reach the shore dryfooted, to submit to be carried over the mud on the backs of coolies, who are solicitous of the honour. The traffic inland appears to be very considerable ; the streets were full of handsome mules and ponies, on whose backs the goods were carried inland in sacks, on very good pack-saddles. The ponies were larger than those which we had been accustomed to see at Canton, but were not so fine as the mules ; I do not know why, unless it be that the mules are carefully bred from a still larger and better description of horse. In front of many of the houses in the town stood stone troughs, at which the animals were feeding, giving to the scene something of the character of a Spanish *venta*, or roadside inn.

There was an abundance of fruit and vegetables for sale in the streets, such as apples, pears, peaches, apricots, plums, pomegranates ; and, later in the season, grapes in great abundance. The plums were good, the pears fine and good-looking, but hard and only fit for stewing ; the apricots and peaches inferior ;

though at Tien-tsin the peaches are really capital. There were also a quantity of vegetables of almost all sorts except that which has become the British vegetable *par excellence*, the potato. In China you can only get the sweet potato : except the few that are grown at Macao, and near foreign settlements, for barbarian consumption, the greater part of our Canton supply used to come from California. We tried to purchase some bullocks ; but the people said, that having only a sufficient number for purposes of tillage, they were unable to part with any. They sold us a few sheep at from a dollar and a half to two dollars each. The price of poultry was ten for a dollar, of eggs a hundred for a dollar. The average price of mules thirty dollars.

The anchorage is good, and the climate also appears very good. We were told by an Englishman who had been there during the latter part of the winter that it was exceedingly cold when the wind blew from the north, the thermometer marking as low as 12° Fahr. He said there was ice on the beach at such times, and extending to sea for some forty yards ; and that occasionally in the morning the sea round the vessel was crusted with ice. We saw a smith using coal at his forge, and questioned him as to where it came from. He said it was brought from the mountains in the country, but was not generally used for anything but smith's work ; that in the winter, instead of having a fire, he was in the habit of putting on more clothes whenever he felt cold. In some places in the gulf further north we found the houses warmed on the Russian system, by hot-air flues, and I dare say it was so here, but I did not happen to notice it. In most of the houses thus warmed, there is a raised hollow dais of brickwork,

under which the smoke and heated air from the fire passes, and which is used as the family bed.

The similarity between the northern Chinese, Tartars, and Russians is easily traced, not only in their manners and customs, but also in personal appearance. The Tartar cavalry soldier is strikingly like the Cossack of the Russian army, and the natives of the Crimea were very like many people whom I saw in the Gulf of Peh-chili. In man's companion, too, the dog, is also to be observed the same relationship. We found him in China and the Crimea the same dog, and with a strong likeness to that of Kamskatkha and Lapland.

Our gun-boats did not arrive here until the 16th, when they had to get water. This was a long operation, as the place is badly off for it; and that we considered was the chief objection to Chefoo being used as a rendezvous for our force in the following year. It was, however, adopted by the French; *we* taking Tai-lien-whan Bay on the opposite side of the straits of Miatao, at the entrance of the Gulfs of "Peh-chili" and "Liau-tong." We were so short of coal that we were unable to afford to condense. We had, if I remember right, only three days for full steaming on board each gun-boat, three days more for each in reserve on board the "Cruiser," besides a similar allowance for herself. This watering delayed us until the 18th, but gave us time to take walks into the country in different directions.

There is rather a quaint old town about half a mile behind "Chefoo." It was evidently formerly encircled with a wall, but now almost all traces of it are gone: the four gates alone stand as monuments of what it had formerly been. The appearance of the place leads one to think that the sea formerly came up to where this

old town stands, and that, as it receded, the new town sprang up as a commercial necessity. One day we mounted the chain of hills which, from on board ship, bounded our view over the country. We passed through



CHEFOO.

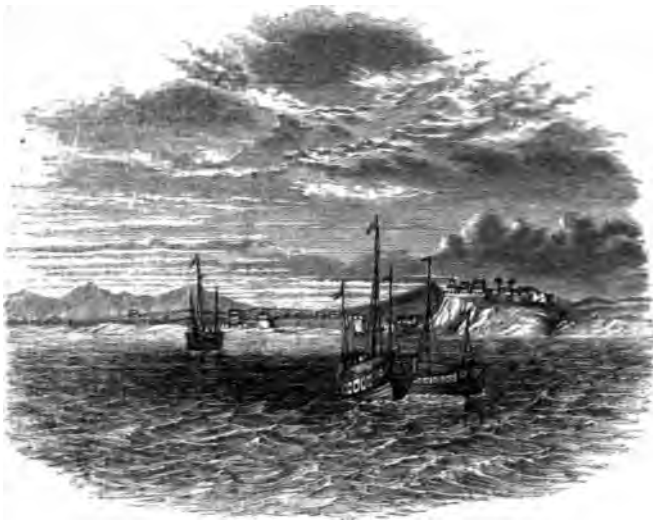
some pretty villages surrounded by orchards. The flat ground near the sea was dry, and the soil light, but highly cultivated, and covered with young crops of grain, peas, and beans. We met, amongst other people, two invalids out for a stroll, who much interested Dr. Forbes, who was of our party. One was consumptive, and the other had an enormous wen on the back of his neck. As Mr. Adkins was not with us, we were unable, (perhaps fortunately,) to explain to the man the doctor's extreme desire to cut the thing out. We were, however, capable of expressing sympathy, which perhaps may have given them a favourable impression of the

softness of the barbarian's heart. On the ridge of the hills we ate our luncheon of cold chicken, to the great edification of some poor woodcutters, who joined us and picked the bones. They enjoyed looking through our glasses, but did not make much out with the telescope, as it did not appear to interfere with the enjoyment of the man gazing through it, if his waggish companion put his hat in front of the glass. The opera-glass, however, was delightful for them; but we were careful not to trust either glass in their own hands, as it is neither pleasant nor prudent to allow them to touch the eye-piece with their eyes. Many of them, if they have not ophthalmia, look as if they had had it, or some similar horrid disease. We espied some cattle in the distance, but we respected the agriculturists, and remained contented with the sheep they had sold us. Returning to the shore, we groped about among the rocks, when waiting for the boat, and found capital little oysters sticking to them, and now left dry by the tide. We also saw men diving and ducking about after mussels, and burnt almost black from exposure to the sun. I could not have believed in the extreme shades of colour exhibited by inhabitants of the same place in China. There are some men literally almost black, whilst the shopkeeper or man who lives in doors is as white-faced as a lump of dough. This is common to very many of the sea-side places, but I think more remarkably so in the north than in the south.

Leaving Chefoo at nine A.M. on the 18th, we anchored off "Teng-choo-foo" at five P.M. the same day.

It consists of two separate walled cities, one standing back about half a mile or so from the shore, with its longest side approximately parallel to it, and the other has its shorter side abutting on the sea, and runs back

to the first-named city; thus the two form a figure something like a letter I—, only they do not join, a stream dividing them. A creek runs up into the outer city, with a narrow dock-like entrance, and here vessels enter for safety, when loading and unloading, the



VIEW OF TENG-CHOO-FOO.

anchorage being open and but little sheltered. From a joss-house built on the cliff you can look down into this basin, and over the greater part of the town.

We landed on the beach without the city walls, a party of five, composed of Captain Bythesea, the doctor, Mr. Adkins, myself, and my native servant. Finding ourselves outside the wall, and seeing no gate, and observing, moreover, that the wall was dilapidated and easy of escalade, we climbed up a breach and soon stood on the top. We began to walk along the rampart, but were rudely prevented, by a crowd who surrounded and hustled us, insisting that we must not go on. It was

very nearly coming to a quarrel, but we kept as quiet as we could, and explained that our object was to pay a complimentary visit to the chief mandarin, and to endeavour to make arrangements for the purchase of bullocks and sheep. We also pointed out that we were unarmed, and as unable, as we were unwilling, to injure them. But this had not much effect, for the crowd increased, and continued to jostle against us. The tom-toms of alarm were beaten, and we saw soldiers with flags hurrying to and fro on the walls of the other part of the town. We were told that the mandarin lived in the inner city, and they pointed out to us the gate by which we should enter it.

We decided to go and see him, and for this purpose descended the breach and walked to the gate, followed by a few of the more curious of the party. We entered the city, and walked some little way through the streets. We did not, however, much like the looks of the people, and held a consultation as to whether it would be prudent to go on. It was now seven o'clock, and really too late to pay a visit of ceremony; besides we did not like to have the city gate between ourselves and the ship, more especially as if we went on, it would be dark before our return. Nor could we tell how the mandarin would be disposed towards us after the recent events at the Pei-ho.

My servant, who mixed in the crowd, overheard a discussion as to whether it would not be advisable to detain us until orders should be received as to our treatment. Therefore, taking all things into consideration, we determined to get back, and told our guide that, having been detained on first landing by the rudeness and misconduct of the people, it was now too late

for us to pay the contemplated visit, more especially as the mandarin's residence was still some distance off; and that, therefore, we desired him to present our compliments to the mandarin, and to say that we would give ourselves the pleasure of communicating with him in the morning. That done, we walked briskly back, and were not sorry to see that the city gate was still open to permit our egress.

In the morning we sent off a letter explaining our desire to purchase cattle, and complaining of the way in which we had been treated the day before. Mr. Adkins took it on shore, but was met at the landing-place by a crowd, who hooted at him; and they kept urging one another not to take nor have anything to do with the letter. However, he threw it among them and returned to the ship, knowing that they would not incur the responsibility of not presenting it after he had gone.

In the afternoon I went on shore with Bythesea and four or five of my Engineers. We all carried revolvers in belts under our coats. We landed some little distance to the west of the town, and, walking inland, we saw something of the country. We got on a hill which completely overlooked the inner city. The country seemed nice enough, but had the same fault apparently as Chefoo—a want of water. The watercourses were all dry, but we found one excellent well. The outer city is a small narrow rectangle; the inner one is larger. It appeared about four miles in circuit. It has four gates, and contains some large yamuns or temples, and some very fine trees. There is also in it a high pagoda of three or four stories. This appeared very dilapidated, but was undergoing repairs. The wall, which at the north gate could not be much under

thirty-five feet high, appeared generally in good condition. We were struck by observing no appearance of traffic of any kind, whilst on the road round Chefoo, strings of beasts of burthen were constantly met : here we saw nothing but a couple of ponies grazing. We were fearing much for our chance of getting bullocks, and were returning to the boats, when suddenly we espied a flock of about forty large sheep being driven rapidly towards the city. We immediately gave chase, and cut them off, and, after some little hunting, discovered them hidden in a hollow place round the shoulder of a hill, where they had doubtless hoped to escape our notice.

We were fortunately out of sight from the city, so taking precautions to prevent any of the shepherd's party marching off to give an alarm, and placing a sentry on the high ground, to warn us in case of danger, we quietly began to bid for the sheep. The shepherd was obstinate ; he refused again and again to part with any of them at any price. At last one of my men (a butcher, by the way), who was walking about in the flock, feeling them, suddenly came on such a fat one that, urged I suppose partly by hunger and a recollection of his salt fare on board ship, and partly by the force of habit, he cast it on its back like lightning. Here we were compromised, and feeling that we might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb, and that we really did want fresh meat, and, moreover, intended honestly to pay for it, we allowed the five next fattest to be similarly cast. Still the shepherd entered a quiet protest ; he would have nothing to say to the matter, and could not think of helping to carry our spoils down to the boat. We were preparing to take them down one by one, when, in stooping, one of our party acci-

dentally dropped the revolver out of his belt. The natives saw it with a glance of the eye, said not a word, but at once each laid hold of a sheep, and they were all carried in silence down to the boat. We took the shepherd on board ship with us, and there paid him fifteen dollars for the six sheep, which was more than we had been asked at Chefoo.

We found that in the meantime a letter had come from the mandarin to ask how many bullocks we wanted. We wrote back word that eight was the number required. He sent off three, pleading his inability to procure more. We remained another day, hoping to get the remainder, but were disappointed.

Some of our communications with the natives were exceedingly primitive. We used occasionally to send boats to the shore on different errands, and of course could not always send any one as interpreter in them. When the people wished to communicate, if they had not a letter already written, they would scratch characters on a flat bit of stone or slate, with a flint, and send it on board. I think, in spite of our forcible purchase of the sheep, our characters gained favour in their sight, and the people were latterly inclined to be much more civil than on our first arrival.

On the 22nd we reached Toki, one of the Mia-tao islands. It was said, I think, in one of the books of sailing directions, that cattle were to be had here, so we determined to pay the place a visit. It must be remembered that this constant demand for cattle was not entirely for our own consumption, but also to test the resources of the country, with a view to getting supplies for our forces next year. We found Toki was much misrepresented in this respect. Our gun-

boats, which we had sent on, had taken the initiative: their commanders went on shore, and made the usual demands, and were pleased at the alacrity with which, apparently, they were met, for before long a boat was sent off to each, but they were found to contain instead of bullocks a pair of venerable superannuated donkeys.

I took a gun on shore, and being met with the usual assertion that there were no cows, not a single one on the island; I replied that if that were the case, they could of course have no objection to my shooting any cattle I might happen to come across in my walk. Their answer was, "How many do you really want?" and on my saying ten, they promised to furnish them next day; and actually did so. We walked all over the island, and I must say I never saw any signs of cattle, but a good many donkeys. There are four villages on the island, but the people begged us not to walk through them, as they said the women would be terrified. We often heard that said in these parts, and I am afraid their fears are not groundless. From what we could learn, the crews of some of the small coasting vessels are a lawless set, and I believe go the length of carrying off the women by force; I certainly saw the faces of Chinese women peering through the cabin-windows of some of the vessels we met with.

We found the people very civil and friendly: the island is well cultivated: the prevailing crops were millet, Indian corn, wheat, beans, and peas; there was no pasturage for cattle, and I cannot conceive that there ever are any quantity on the island. For those we got, we paid eight dollars apiece, which we found made the meat as much as threepence per pound. We saw no game: there were quantities of hawks and some

eagles; we also shot a number of pigeons on a rocky island close by.

Having now got all we could, both in the way of meat, water, and information, we sailed on the 24th July for the Great Wall, where we intended to commence our actual surveying; our plan being to start from that point, as the extreme northern limit, and to examine minutely the coast the whole way down, to such a distance south of the Pei-ho as would appear to be of any service in future operations; of the Pei-ho we knew the strength well. The Peh-tang we knew was also fortified; and it remained to be seen whether there was any other point north or south, more favourable for our future movements.

CHAPTER XV.

The Great Wall—Our self-introduction and our reception—The use of geology—Tartar soldiers—Our mode of surveying—Grand review—We receive a present—We meet a mandarin, and get useful information from him—Lew-sia-kwang—River Yang-ho—Native carts—My servant has an escape.

ON the morning of the 26th, we sighted the Great Wall, running uncompromisingly straight up the mountains; up and down the sides of the spurs, and then stretching along on the top: its course being indicated after it ceased itself to be visible, by the pagoda-like towers which jutted out, and flanked it at intervals. The wall runs right down to the beach: there is a sort of stone pier running out into the sea, from which an inclined road, or ramp, leads up to the top of the wall. At this point there is a low pagoda: there were a few tents on the wall, probably occupied by a guard. Close to this on the Chinese or southern side of the line of wall (the northern being Tartary), there is a piece of ground enclosed by a rampart and forming a fort, or some defensible enclosure. The Great Wall itself is just like that of Canton, or any other Chinese fortified city. It is from twenty-five to forty feet high, and from fifteen to thirty feet wide at the top: its rear face is vertical or nearly so. The core of the rampart is filled up with earth, much of which has evidently been excavated from the front, so as to form a ditch; which, however, is not maintained as such, in a

defensive point of view. The material of which the wall is constructed is brick and stone, many of the former being very large, and of a blue colour : there is a battlemented parapet on the top, and loopholes are pierced in places, between the openings. There are, as I said before, projecting square towers at intervals, surmounted by pagodas for purposes of flank defence. Access to the top of the wall from the inside, is gained by steps or ramps. About two or three miles from the beach, and within the line of wall, stands a large fortified town called "Ning-hae." The country around is beautiful, and appears fertile; the soil is light and loamy : the ground rises from the sea in gentle undulations, and forms, comparatively speaking, a plain, extending back some six miles or so. A chain of mountains then commences, rising to a height probably of five thousand feet. The cultivation appears to be carried up to about a quarter of that height. The upper part does not appear to be wooded, that is to say, with large trees, though there may be brushwood : there are charming-looking groves, apparently of pines, scattered here and there on the plain and the lower part of the mountain : the foremost chain runs in about a south-west direction, and, I believe, extends continuously to within a few miles north of Peking. This range is backed by others, the more remote appearing to be the highest. To the north of us the range seemed to continue for some distance ; to the south the mountains appeared to recede from the sea, as of course they must, in order to reach Peking. At this time the country was all of a lovely green from the condition of the crops, and it looked altogether one of the most charming places I ever saw.

We made our first visit to the shore soon after

anchoring, and were met by a number of soldiers all armed, and with lighted matches, who came down and crowded round us.

Finding us unarmed they were tolerably civil, and withdrew a few paces, when two blue-buttoned mandarins came down to see what we wanted.

Adkins let off our speech, which was to the effect that we were cruising about in these waters to avoid the great heat in the south; that we had some sick men on board (many of them, in fact, were suffering from Pei-ho wounds); that we intended remaining in these waters for some few days; that we were desirous of landing from time to time, to take exercise, which would be extremely beneficial to our invalids; and that, moreover, we were in want of fresh provisions, and wished to see the chief mandarin of the place, with a view to arranging the purchase of such supplies as we required.

The answer to all this was, that the chief man was one who came from Takoo—this was probably to inspire us with terror, or, at all events, respect for a man who came from such a race of soldiers; that on no account would he consent to see us here; that if we had business to transact, Takoo was the proper place for it, and to Takoo we had better go forthwith.

Pretending not to understand the hint, we merely replied that our business being purely local, it was hard to see how it could be furthered by discussion carried on at a distance. At the same time, even if the mandarin absolutely refused to see us personally, he might yet be informed of our wishes, and in the meantime we should remain at our present anchorage. Though our conversation was carried on in a perfectly friendly manner, the soldiers prevented our moving more than a few yards from the boat. We were careful

not to attempt to thwart them, and after some little time returned on board.

The next day we went on shore again, and were met by the same mandarins as before; they were accompanied by about fifty soldiers, both cavalry and infantry; they were very civil and friendly, but always stopped us, if we attempted to move away. Whilst Adkins was engaging them in conversation, and creating an interest, I sneaked off, quietly followed by one or two soldiers, and pretended to geologize, picking up stones, pocketing some and discarding others, my guard got interested in the matter, and would go and search about for stones similar to those I had chosen. When they were not looking, I took observations with my pocket-compass, which I had with me. We asked to be allowed to mount the wall, whence we could have had a good view of the surrounding country, but they would not allow it. In vain did we speak of its world-wide celebrity, and describe the esteem in which we should be held on our return to our native country, could we only boast of having stood on it; and how valuable a memento of our visit would be a brick, actually taken from the structure. Here they evidently seemed glad to be able to please us, for they sent a man off at once, who picked out a brick, and offered it for our acceptance.

The cavalry soldiers all wore leathern doublets, and white loose trousers tucked into knee boots. Some of the men had matchlocks slung over their shoulders, with the match burning, and they wore girdles round their waists with ammunition pouches. The powder was in a horn, and the bullets, which were about the size of those used for a small revolver, were in another pouch. They told me they used from six to ten as a charge.

Their powder, which they let me examine, was very bad. Others had bows and arrows, instead of the matchlock, and others, again, had spears. The infantry were dressed as in the south of China, in a reddish-coloured cotton jacket, with a circular white patch on the breast and back, on which was marked in black the name and number of the corps to which they belonged. These men were distinguished as being members of some mountain corps. All the foot soldiers were armed with spears. Each horseman had, in addition to his other weapons, a sword which he carried naked, underneath his saddle-flap, so that in jumping on and off, as they frequently do, they were not incommoded by it. The ponies were rough, serviceable beasts, and seemed to scramble along over the ground at a good pace. We made such way in the affections of the troops, that an officer, said to be an aide-de-camp to the general commanding, allowed me to mount his pony, and take a canter along the beach, whilst he rode another at my side to prevent my going too far. He was rather a smart fellow, and had a European officer's sword in a steel scabbard.

It was evident to us that we should not be able to conduct our survey in the usual manner, as of course it would be out of the question attempting to measure lines on shore. We were therefore driven to adopt other expedients for determining distances. On consideration, the best appeared to be that of calculating from the rate of travelling of sound.

The gun-boats having arrived by the 28th, we anchored the three vessels in the form of a triangle, having each side about three miles long. The latitude and longitude of each were found from observations, and that position which worked out best, and from the

most reliable chronometer was adopted. Signals were then determined upon, and guns were fired from the different ships in turn; the period which elapsed between the flash and report being noted on board each vessel. Thus we had the time taken for the travelling of the sound either with, against, or across the wind, and the mean or best results were adopted. Our rule for the rate of travelling of sound was 1,090 feet per second, when the temperature was at 32° Fahr., and two feet more per second for every additional degree of temperature.

The bearings of each vessel being taken from the others, the distances known, and the latitude and longitude of any one vessel being ascertained, we were enabled to lay them down on a blank sheet of paper ruled like a chart.

By this means we knew that whenever we observed with the compass from any point on shore, or in boats, two or three of the fixed vessels, those bearings when laid down on the chart, from the position of the vessels thereon, would indicate the point whence the observation was made; and if we were enabled to observe all three vessels, which we made a rule of doing whenever practicable, the three bearings should, if the positions were correct, intersect in the same point: thus we had the proof of our work always at hand, and had the satisfaction day after day of knowing how we got on.

The space within easy range of the first three points being finished, the rearmost vessel was moved forwards so as to form with the other two a second triangle, her position being fixed by what are technically termed cross bearings; and thus we proceeded along the coast.

The plotting and laying down of our work being all done at our leisure on board ship, it was only necessary

when we went on shore, to take the bearings of the three vessels from leading points, noting the angles in the book, and making approximate sketches of the coast. As regards the result of the work, we found that after surveying southwards from the Great Wall for eighty miles, we closed on the "Sha-lui-tien" island, of which the latitude and longitude are known; and found that our worked-out position varied from that laid down from solar observations, by less than half a mile of longitude, which was very satisfactory; indeed, an error to that amount is just as likely to occur in the solar observations as in our triangulation.

Excited, perhaps, by our firing, and being desirous of showing off, the general held a review of his troops the same morning. The infantry were extended along the beach in a single rank, and about two yards apart, whilst the cavalry rode down the front in file: they appeared within view, emerging from a gateway in the wall, and disappeared again behind some rising ground close to the beach. There must either have been a very large number of them, or they must have ridden round in a circle, for it took several hours for them to pass by. We were compelled to go on with our work, and could not stay to watch or count them.

The following day we landed on the northern side of the wall, and walked about unmolested; for though they must have seen us go up in our boat, they sent out no troops to watch us. The country was well cultivated, and the crops looked very healthy. The labourers, both men and women, were engaged in hoeing Indian corn. There was a great quantity of millet growing, and also bearded wheat. We saw numerous villages dotted over the plain. The cottages have flat, or rather slightly curved roofs. As a rule, each house

has a court-yard in front, the wall of which is some eight or ten feet high. Thus a street is bounded on either side by a continuous line of wall, with doors in it, in front of each dwelling.

A couple of excellent cows were sent down to us in the afternoon, better than any we had seen. We offered to pay for them, but the persons who brought them declined to receive anything. We then begged to be allowed to make a return present from our ship-stores, but that also was declined. We had intended to refuse presents, as we did not like the idea of the treachery of receiving gifts, whilst we were contemplating hostile measures against the donors; but in this case it appeared that we should be rude in continuing to refuse. Fortunately future operations did not take us here, nor compel us anywhere to make an ungrateful return for hospitality.

Having completed the work in this immediate neighbourhood, we moved down the coast, and landed some six miles or so further south, on a rocky promontory, from which we could overlook the country. This forms one point of a very shallow bay, and is nearly separated from the main land by a small river or creek, which we ascended, and which we found to have a bar across its mouth, over which at low tide there were not more than two feet of water. Mounting the height, we found a joss-house erected on its summit. The rock was generally covered with sand; but in some places there was a good deal of vegetation, on which many ponies and cows were grazing. Looking over the main land, we could see herds of cattle on the plains.

At the headland forming the opposite end of the shallow bay, about six miles lower down, we were met on the beach by a mandarin of the blue-buttoned class,

who had been seated on a rock awaiting our approach, attended by five or six armed Tartars, who held the ponies. Seeing my book, he asked to look at it. I showed him the wrong end, where I kept some coloured landscape sketches; and whilst he was engaged in examining the boat and crew, and conversing with some of the party, I went up on the hill, and took my observations; after which I made a sketch of a half-ruined temple which stood there within an enclosure, round which broken clay images were lying about, or propped up in disorder.

On returning to the beach, I took pains voluntarily to show him my performance, and the harmless way in which I had been engaged. He was good enough to recognize the subject at once.

Landing the following day at a village called "Lew-sia-kwang," we met him again, and had much conversation with him, and he appeared very willing to talk; so, by asking him pertinent questions, framed so as to elicit the information we wanted, without asking for it point-blank, we got some valuable hints from him.

As yet we had been able to find out nothing about the road from these districts to Peking, so we determined to see what we could learn on the subject. Taking the subject of horses as being connected with roads, we asked whether we could purchase any at this place. He said, "How many?" We answered, "Eight," as being a number probably too great to be tendered for immediate purchase. He replied, "No, you cannot get so many as eight here; but if you really wish to buy that number, you should go to Ninghae." We said, "Why to Ninghae?" He answered, "Why!—do not you know that 'Ninghae' is the place from whence runs the great high road to the capital, and along

which there is so much traffic, that from neighbouring hills the course of the road over the plain can be traced for a distance, by the men and vehicles passing along it? And surely the terminus of such a road is the proper place for the purchase of horses and mules in any quantities." Here was a great point for us. At Ning-hae was the opening in the Great Wall, through which the coast-road of Tartary led to the capital; and it must probably be a rich city, one of the base-points of the frontier, and especially rich in what to an army is the best form of wealth—animals and vehicles for draught, available for its transport.

Once on the subject of the road, we managed to find out more about it, which, when afterwards compared with information picked up elsewhere, we found well corroborated. The total distance to Peking was said to be 680 "li," or about 226 miles, though the difference of longitude does not give much more than 160 miles as the probable distance. If the li were taken at three and a half to the mile, as I believe it may in these parts, its value varying in different localities (being in the south about one-third of a mile), the distance would be 194 miles, which perhaps may be nearer the mark. There is a road from "Lew-sia-kwang" leading into the great road at a point thirty li distant, or about nine miles. This made the place important, for Ning-hae was now found to be in the following position.

Imagine a rectangle, of which the eastern side is the Great Wall, running direct from the sea up the mountains, a distance of perhaps six miles or so; the northern side is a range of hills, running approximately parallel to the road and to the coast-line; the western side is the road leading from Lew-sia-kwang to the high road,

and the southern the coast-line, Ning-hae being about at the centre of the eastern line.

Now a force thrown on shore at "Lew-sia-kwang" might make a sudden march over the nine miles of cross road, and establish itself on the great road, cutting off all retreat in that direction. The only means of escape would be then either by cutting through our line, breaking up and flying over the mountains, or retreat into Tartary, through such gates as there might be in the Great Wall. Even this might be stopped by a comparatively small force thrown on shore on that side. Thus we should have, hemmed in a corner, a rich town, a fertile piece of country, probably stores of grain, a division of the army, and great numbers of horses and cattle—the chargers of the Tartars alone being some thousands; as the force, mainly cavalry, in this command was said to amount to forty thousand men. The presence of a fleet off Ning-hae as well as "Lew-sia-kwang," and a landing executed, or even threatened, at the former place, must almost inevitably lead to the surrender of the city, with whatever we had bagged in the trap. Whether the place would be of any use as a base from whence to march on the capital, is doubtful, the line of communication being probably too long, and liable to sudden and harassing attacks made by bodies of men from the mountains; yet, for a predatory dash, the opportunity would be glorious.

About 190 li, or 54 miles from Ning-hae, and on the great road, is "Yung-ping-foo." It is said that the road passes outside it, within a very short distance of the south gate (not more than one li), so that the town can be avoided, in case you do not wish to pass through it. The river Ching-lung-ho passes close to the west

gate. We heard that it has an embankment at this place, which, from the description given, appears to be designed to prevent sudden floods from the hills injuring the country. This matter would of course be important, as implying either low ground, or frequent floods. There are six rivers in all, crossing the road before you reach Pekin : they are said not to be bridged across, but that in ordinary seasons they are fordable ; in rainy weather the people use ferry-boats. The principal places on the road, after passing Yung-ping-foo, are "Fung-jin-hsien," 160 li farther ; Che-chou, 80 li beyond ; then "San-ho ;" and, lastly, "Tung-chow," which is near Pekin. But, except "Tung-chow," which is well known, "Yung-ping-foo" is the only place of any importance. It is a large walled town of four gates ; and, from its title of "foo," it must be a first-class city.

A little below "Lew-sia-kwang" is the "Tae-cho-ho," a short river rising in the hills at the back of that village, and running through the plain between them and the great road. We walked to a village a little way inland, where we found the people friendly, and met with no soldiers. The country was rather wet and swampy : however the Indian corn seemed to flourish, and was growing to a great height. We got some water here ; for though we found it very good at Lew-sia-kwang, there was only one well near the beach, and consequently the operation of watering was tedious. But we made a mistake, as it turned out, for the river-water was not at all good. It blew so hard towards the shore, that the pinnace, when full of water, was unable to get back to the ship, and was forced to anchor and ride out the gale ; and we had to send food and other necessities to her crew, by the cutter, which was a good sailing boat.

This river is very shallow, as is also the "Yang-ho," which is about a mile lower down. A few of the smaller junks ascend the latter river for a little distance, at high water, but the greater number discharge their cargoes into carts on the bank, just inside the bar. On the day on which we landed, there were several junks so doing; and to carry off the cargoes of millet, which was in sacks, there were between twenty and thirty carts, and no less than six mules or ponies to each—one in the shafts, two abreast in front of them, and three abreast as leaders. We got into conversation with the people, and they said they were going to a place called "Poo-ning-hsien," distant about thirty li. They described it as rather a small place, yet nevertheless containing several thousand inhabitants, and situated on the great road; which fact I doubt, as it was not mentioned before as being among the number of towns through which the road passes; and I think that at this point the great road would be rather more than thirty li from the coast. However, it does not much signify; if it be not on the road, it must be very near it.

Many of the mules were exceedingly handsome, especially those used for riding: we saw several thus equipped. We conversed with the people; and as no soldiers came down, we got on very well. We remarked on the large number of animals attached to each cart, which we chose to consider unnecessarily great, and were informed in answer that the road to "Poo-ning-hsien" was muddy and heavy. We then asked them, "How long would it take them to go to Peking with such carts?" to which they answered, "We should not use such carts, but lighter ones, and with them the journey would occupy six days." We

then asked, "Why use lighter carts? these are very good ones." They answered, "On account of the hills." "It is our practice," we said, "in hilly countries to make use of pack-saddles." "So do we," they replied, "in the mountainous countries, but the hills on the great road are not considerable enough to necessitate such a measure; in fact, it runs generally along the base of the mountains, crossing the spurs occasionally, where the elevation is not considerable."

Another point on which we wanted information was wood. So, having a gun with me, I inquired, "If one was travelling along the great road, would one find game to shoot in its vicinity?" "No," they said, "the traffic drives it all away." "But surely," I replied, "in the woods and thickets, where there is shelter, pheasants must be found?" "No, the road passes through no woods; there are indeed, here and there, groves of fine trees in the neighbourhood, but not such as to contain game." The next remark we made was as to the breadth of the cart wheels. "That," they said, "is because the roads are muddy in the wet months." These turned out to be the early summer months. The months when there are ice and snow are the first, second, third, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth: during these the rivers are frozen, and the sea also, to a distance of perhaps two miles out from the shore. The snow is sometimes two feet deep, but that is considered a heavy fall. The ice breaks up in the third month (April.)

In the afternoon we sent a boat up the river, with my servant as interpreter, to see what they could buy in the shape of vegetables; but it appeared that our presence there had been reported, for they were met by about a hundred Tartar cavalry, armed with

matchlocks and spears, who prevented them from going up, and hustled "Aman," who had gone on shore, and who was fortunate in being able to get back to the boat. On their leaving, the villagers promised to send some vegetables and poultry, which they did, at the same time refusing payment. However, we insisted on their taking money for what we kept.

CHAPTER XVI.

Survey continued—Fishermen—Tartar soldiers—"Yung-ping-foo"—Road thence to Tien-tsin—A communicative soldier—River Laou-moo-kaou—Narrow escape from a fight—Reconciliation—The General's aides-de-camp—Night review—Watches *versus* dollars—Mirage—River Ching-ho—The aides-de-camp again—Sha-lui-tien banks—River Che-kaou—A poor diet—Mode of fishing—A midshipman's adventure—The Pei-ho again—We cause the Chinese to "eat misery"—The Peh-tang-ho—Tartars again—Desolate country—The use of jelly-fish—The survey completed—We revisit Teng-choo-foo and Che-foo—Return to Shanghai.

AFTER leaving the "Yang-ho," we found the country flat, and less fertile : there are wide tracts of uncultivated ground, apparently partially flooded by high tides. Nevertheless there was an old battery for four guns in the middle of this desert, from which it may be assumed that there is a road leading somewhere, which it is necessary occasionally to watch. Seven miles down the coast from the Yang-ho, comes the Poo-ho, a short river which appears to originate in a great marsh, into which a large level tract of country drains itself. Junks lie about a mile up the river to discharge cargoes ; but it is too shallow for them to ascend higher, and, indeed, it would be of no use, for it apparently leads to nowhere ; but the corn brought there is transported to the interior in carts.

A fort, containing seven or eight guns, guards this anchorage, and on our arrival we saw them being made ready for us ; for over the top of the parapet we could see the heads of the sponges and rammers

moving, as the men were working, and probably loading the guns.

As we pulled towards the shore, we noticed some mounted Tartars coming down; but observing on which side of the river they were riding, we landed on the other; and having taken our angles before they arrived at the beach, we crossed over, as if to meet them, courting their company. The officer in command had a blue button. He was a complete Tartar, and unable to speak Chinese, so we had to make use of one of his men as interpreter. They were very uncommunicative: we could get nothing out of them, except that their camp was about sixteen miles off, and "Yung-ping-foo" 150 li, or 43 miles. On complaining of the water being salt, we were told that there was good water in a river below us, called the "Laou-moo-kaou." As soon as we shoved off, our friend departed on his homeward way; and when he had turned a corner, and got out of sight, we pulled ashore again, and climbing a sand-hill, got a view of the country. We saw a camp, some two or three miles off, capable of containing six or seven hundred men; and on a hill in rear of the fort, and in such a position as to be concealed from our view when at the mouth of the river, we saw a force of infantry drawn up in order; very cleverly brought out and disposed, in case of necessity. A range of sand-hills, about fifty feet high, follows the beach, and extends inland about half a mile. Behind this the country is perfectly flat, and is cultivated; dotted over with villages, and trees planted peculiarly in rows. In this plain is situated the great marsh of which the Poo-ho appears to be the waste-water channel.

The mountains running from the Great Wall towards

Pekin have here left us. A range running about at right angles to their general direction (or S. S. W.) abruptly terminates about ten miles west of the mouth of the "Poo-ho." This range, which is short, appears to be disconnected from the great range, and probably the high road passes between them, "Yung-ping-foo" being somewhere in the valley beyond. This abrupt point of mountain is the last bit seen as you go southwards, until you reach the province of "Shan-tung." It might be argued that there is a pretty good road from the Poo-ho inland, seeing the pains and expense undertaken by the government for the protection of the place.

Returning to the beach, we watched some fishermen, quite black, and most of them entirely devoid of clothes, who were hauling in a net, to the tune of a rude, but not unmelodious chant. They captured about a cart-load of different sorts—small herrings, soles, and others marked like trout, only without the small back fin; also dog-fish, and quantities of crabs, many of which were beautifully coloured. I observed that immediately on getting the fish to shore, they went round, and with an iron hook killed all the dog-fish, driving its point through their heads, but killed none of the others. We selected nearly a bushel of fish for our crew, for which we paid a quarter of a dollar.

Next day, when shooting sea-birds on the shore, half a dozen Tartars came up, and rode round me, and watched my movements. I shot at a bird flying a little over the head of one of them, and brought it down: seeing this they cantered off, and got about a hundred and fifty yards from me; at which distance they again patrolled, watching me. Taking advantage of a bird passing at a proper height, I fired

at him, so that the shot might drop near them, when away they scampered over the sand-hills, and never came back.

As we went southwards, we found the cultivated country receding, and the coast getting desolate in the extreme. Fifteen miles below the Poo-ho the sand hills ceased altogether, and there appeared to be almost an interminable waste of flat, dry, salt-incrusted, sun-baked mud. In the extreme distance, the line of cultivated or habitable country is marked by rows of trees, distorted by the mirage into fantastic forms.

Whilst amusing ourselves with shooting curlew, a mandarin rode down to see us, but he did not tell us much, and he seemed soon to get tired of us, and away he went. Later in the day a soldier came down, who walked with us, and was very communicative. He gave us a description of "Yung-ping-foo," which tallied well with what we had already heard. In speaking of the great road, he said it was in some parts sandy, and in others stony. From all accounts it would appear that it is not macadamized, and in traversing the plains it is of the same light soil as the surrounding country; but in crossing the spurs of the mountains, to avoid the *détour* caused by following their base line, its nature is necessarily hard from being worked out of the rock. We inquired as to what road exists between "Yung-ping-foo" and Tien-tsin; (as in the event of a military occupation of these places, a land communication would be required.) He said that proceeding from Yung-ping-foo, the first place you pass is Fung-tai, at a distance of 220 li. At a distance of 290, is Pang-uh-chwang; at 340, Tee-tao; and at a total distance of 360 is Tien-tsin. This distance, however, appears from the map to be improbably great. He said none

of these were large places, being more halting-places for travellers, than towns possessing any intrinsic importance.

It was desirable to know if there were fences intersecting the plain, which would impede the march of troops, who would probably advance in line, leaving the road to the artillery and baggage. So we asked him how, in a flat country like this, it was possible to distinguish the boundaries between one property and another. He answered, "By boundary-stones." We rejoined, "But we have a superior plan; we have ditches. A stone may be removed, but a ditch must always remain." Not to be outdone, he said, "We, too, have ditches as well as you, but not for the same reason. We make use of them for the purpose of irrigation, and therefore you only find them with us, when in the neighbourhood of rivers. Our stones we find quite sufficient, and we do not require fences."

In speaking of the climate, he gave it a milder character than our former informant, cutting off a month from each end of what he designated as the winter. He also said that the rainy season was that between the fourth and eighth months. He told us that we were now near the mouth of the Laou-moo-kaou, a river formed by the confluence of the "Chin-lung-ho" and "Lan-ho." It is famous for the good quality of its water, and is resorted to by native sailors when obliged to fill up their tanks. Before parting from us he said, "Mind you tell no one that I have spoken to you on these subjects, for I know what you are doing. You are making a map, but you must not say that I gave you any information."

This was the only man who openly told us that he knew what we were at.

In our conversations we always tried to bring in the subject of trade, both to avoid suspicion as to our real design and also because the conversation on this subject naturally elicited information on the points applicable to military movements. And with this view we sometimes took on shore small bits of cloth, serge, and flannel as samples; and showing them to the people, we used to ask whether there would be a sale for such things up the country? Could a party of traders go up with woollen goods? How would they carry them? On this follows the question of population. Are the people well off? If so, why? or if not, why not? Would soldiers interfere with foreign traders? Where are they quartered, and in what numbers? and so on. I imagine they must have thought we were on a general exploring excursion, and did not attach any very particular importance to our movements, for they never saw us doing anything which they could have considered suspicious.

On moving down the coast we soon found that we were at the mouth of the Laou-moo-kaou, from the discoloration of the water; and we could see the roofs of houses, and masts of junks over the land; but we passed by the river's mouth without being able to see it, the banks being almost level with the water's edge. As we were pulling one day, looking for the river, we saw a junk sailing along near the shore. On our approaching her she changed her course, and appeared to try to escape us. We gave chase, thinking she would make for the river. We were correct in our judgment, at least partially so, for she went into a creek to escape us; but she was obliged to anchor shortly, as the water was too shallow for her. It turned out that we had unintentionally cut her off from the river. However,

getting on shore here we were enabled to set ourselves right as to the proper entrance.

On the following day we entered the river, and were very soon met by a mandarin attended by unarmed Tartars, who came riding down the bank. We pulled to shore and landed, and began to converse with him. We announced our desire to fill up our tanks with water from the river; also to purchase cattle, sheep, and vegetables. He said we were quite welcome to the water, and that he would do what he could to assist us in other respects. He told us that he was in command of a small force guarding the river's mouth, but that a short distance above, was a force commanded by a superior officer. He introduced us to two men who accompanied him, and who, he said, were aides-de-camp of the general commanding the troops in the district, whose head-quarters were at the Great Wall, and that they had come down thence on business.

He seemed much more guarded in all that he said when they were present than when alone; and their mutual behaviour gave us the impression that they were watching his conduct with a view to reporting it, and that he knew it.

After some little conversation, we said that the water here was so muddy and thick as to be unfit to drink, and that doubtless higher up it would be clearer, and expressed our intention of rowing up the stream to see if such was not the case. He begged us to do nothing of the kind, and said that we should alarm the inhabitants of the village, and that he was bound to prevent us from passing his post. We were very desirous of seeing more of the river, and of the village which we saw about a mile higher up; so assuring him that we meant no harm, and were not going far, we got into

our boats again and pulled up, sounding as we went. Hereupon the Tartars got very much excited, and rode along the bank beside us. On nearing the village they disappeared behind the houses, and suddenly charged out again, reinforced to about sixty men, all fully armed, and shouting wildly "Tah! tah!" or fight! fight! They dashed into a little earthwork just above the village, where they dismounted, and we could see the upper part of their bodies above the parapet as they levelled their matchlocks at us and puffed away at the matches.

Being anxious not to force on hostilities, we lay on our oars for a minute or so, behind some junks lying at anchor, in order to give the soldiers a little time to cool down, and then, emerging from our shelter, we pulled straight for the work, and the mandarin, with a few of his men, came forth to meet us.

We took the initiative, and abused him in round terms for his hostile behaviour. He apologised, and earnestly begged us not to attempt to pass his post, saying that it was almost as much as his life was worth, if he should allow us to go up unopposed; that he should be disgraced and punished if he did so. Hereupon he stooped, and smote himself in a manner which certainly indicated that his anticipated punishment would not be very honourable for a blue-buttoned mandarin. Then rising, he implored us not to put him to the alternative of suffering this indignity or injuring us. We were still aggrieved by his previous behaviour, and asked why he had not said all this before; that by his want of candour he had already very nearly created a breach of the peace, which no one would regret more than ourselves; that we certainly had not, nor indeed could we be supposed to have, the slightest desire to injure him

in any way; and that of course our curiosity as to the water in his river ought not to be for a moment considered when his safety and honour were in question; and that we only regretted that he had not said all this at first, in order that this little misunderstanding might have been avoided.

The reconciliation was perfect. He was evidently immensely relieved at our giving up the point, and invited us into a neighbouring house to drink tea with him. Here we had a good deal of complimentary conversation, and he presented us each with a fan. He then sent for his full-dress hat, of which he was very proud, and which was looked at by the common people and soldiers with immense awe and reverence. The number and length of the peacocks' feathers in it showed him to be a soldier of some repute.

On coming out of the house, all the soldiers were unarmed again, as they had been on our first landing. I asked the mandarin to let me see one of his soldiers shoot with the bow. He consented, and immediately despatched a horseman to some cottages nearly a mile distant. I asked what he went for, and he replied, "He has to go and fetch a bow, for surely it would be improper in the extreme to have any warlike weapons at hand when holding conversation with our best friends." Meanwhile the sailors, who were lounging about, found forty or fifty matchlocks and spears hidden in the sand close by. When the bow was brought, one of the men shot with it, but I do not think the arrows went more than forty yards. The mandarin himself then took it, and, drawing the string very rapidly, shot the arrow into the side of a boat lying up on the shore close by. The point went in about an inch. I do not know whether it was by design or not, but it struck not

more than an inch from the top of the boat's side, and had it gone over, it must inevitably have hit one of the horses in the neck. It might have been chance, or perhaps he wished to show his confidence in his shooting; if so he must have been a proficient, for it was quite a snap shot.

Taking leave of him, we got into our boats again, and were pulling down the river, when we ran against the fluke of a junk's anchor, which was sticking up just below the surface. The result was a nasty hole in the boat's bottom; and it was only by stuffing a sailor's cap into the hole, and pulling hard, that we were enabled to reach the shore, when our Tartar friends came down again, and having brought us a piece of board, a bit of canvas, some nails, and a lump of fat, we managed to stop the leak, and get safe on board ship again. At night there was great firing of guns, both large and small, and lights were seen moving about, both on the beach and inland. From on board the "Cruiser" we were unable, from the darkness, to make out the "Forester," which was lying at the river's mouth; but somewhere in its direction we saw three large lights, which appeared to be fixed in a certain position, and which, according to the night code in the signal-book, would imply, "Enemy approaching in force;" but nothing came of it. The lights moved away, and we turned in.

Shortly before daybreak we were awoken by the officer of the watch, who came to report that a great number of boats were leaving the river, and pulling towards us. We could hear their oars working against the rowlocks, and keeping time to a monotonous chant which the rowers were singing; but the sounds died away, and as soon as it was daylight, we saw quite a

fleet of junks some distance out at sea. We moved the "Cruiser" in, to water. So strong is the stream here, and so far out does it remain fresh, that I believe a vessel might lie at anchor in four and a half fathoms, and pump fresh water in over the side, as it tasted to us quite free from salt at that depth. However, being really hard up for water, we did not care to risk it, and sent our boats in over the bar to fill up.

Whilst this was going on, we went on shore again, and were met by our friend the mandarin, of whom we asked an explanation of the firing in the night. He replied, "My superior officer, whose command is higher up the river, held a night review of his forces; but I have at once sent to inform him what esteemed and valuable friends are in the neighbourhood; after which, of course, he would not think of repeating it, as under such circumstances it would be indecorous to make a military display." We thanked him, and pretended to take the compliment.

He sent us down a cow, some sheep, and vegetables, for which we promised to pay him; but the aides-de-camp being present, he refused to accept anything, though he gave us to understand quietly that he would be very glad to be paid, if he had a chance. He asked to see our watches, and when he got them in his possession, he handled them just like a watchmaker; opened the works, turned them over, stopped them, and made them go on again, listened to the working of the wheels, and then described with his fingers the difference in the escapement of the specimens. We had guns with us to-day, and asked him if the people would be alarmed at our shooting birds on the shore, and he said they would not, so we had some fair sport—curlew stalking. Next morning we went on shore again, and

previous to doing so, we clubbed together and bought a watch from one of the officers of the ship, which we proposed to present to the mandarin as a more delicate form of payment after his forced refusal, than the medium of dollars. We were fortunate enough to find him accompanied only by one or two of his own men. These he sent away, and having taken the watch in his hand, he opened it, scanned the works, and turned it over and over, finally returning it into our hands, shaking his head, and with his forefinger and thumb making a round figure after the fashion of Chinese when they by dumb show designate a dollar. Being really anxious to pay the man, we sent a boat off at once for the paymaster, desiring him to send thirty dollars; but before it returned, down came the spies, to the evident dismay of our friend. In vain did we each in turn try to engage them in argument, one of the others having the dollars in his hand ready for presentation, but these men never would leave him, one or the other always stuck to him; and though he could see plainly what was meant, he never could get the chance of taking the money. At last we were compelled to leave, and take our dollars with us. I hope the poor old fellow was not the real loser in the affair, or, if he was, that he would have a chance by some pardonable speculation, or squeeze, as it is called, to reimburse himself for a loss forced upon him by a government, which, while it impressed on him the obligations of hospitality, would force it to be of a personal rather than a national character. A little compass, which hung as a charm on Bythesea's watch-chain, and which he gave him, was the only token of thanks and friendship we were enabled to leave with him.

This river (like the others we had met with) was

prevented being of any great service, from the bar at the mouth, over which at high-water spring tides there is not more than seven feet nine inches of water, and at low tide only three feet. The village which we visited is, more properly speaking, a collection of storehouses, in which the cargoes (mostly of grain) are deposited; there are also a few dwelling-houses. It is about a mile above the river's mouth; and from its existence here, one would naturally infer that the navigation of the river to any great distance above, is either difficult or impracticable. Once within the bar, there is a channel which probably has never less than ten feet of water all the way to the storehouses. About a mile and a half above this point we saw some junks at anchor off a bend in the river, and here was a fort, which we were able to make out when at sea, though not from the river: here it was that the review was held. One branch of this river, the Ching-lung-ho, passes, it will be remembered, near the west gate of Yung-ping-foo, and has there the characteristics of a river running in a plain near the foot of mountains, being embanked to prevent the destruction of the surrounding country from sudden freshes.

The shore below the Laou-moo-kaou is desolate in the extreme; the same sunburnt mud that I described before. I one day landed with the intention of walking inland, as far as to some trees which I saw, and which appeared about a mile distant. I went on for quite three miles without seeing the slightest traces of vegetation, and then came to a tract where a sort of cactus grew sparsely, but the trees looked as hopelessly distant as ever. I could not estimate with any accuracy the probable distance, but it could not, I imagine, be less than six or eight miles.

It is impossible here very often to distinguish, even at a few yards' distance, whether the surface in front of you is water or sand, so wonderful is the deception from mirage. As you anchor off the shore, you may be distant five or six miles instead of two, as you think. You see on the shore what appears to be a castle or fort, with two or three tiers of guns. On approaching, you find it is a miserable hut of matting, round which the poor natives dry their fish. The space in front of you when you land, might be an inland ocean, but for the sea-birds wading on it, distorted, till their legs appear ten feet long. A curious-shaped monster comes forth from the horizon, something like a spider walking on long, waving legs: until it gets quite close, you cannot make it out, but at last you find it is a cart driven down to take inland the fish which the poor natives have caught: or, it may be a water-cart, driven from goodness knows where, to replenish the tanks of a solitary junk lying up in a creek. The whole district is more bleak, barren, and in summer more glaring than anything I could have conceived.

On the 16th August we reached the river Ching-ho, which runs through this waste. It was blowing very hard, and there was such a surf breaking over the bar, that we were unable to venture in: the wind veered round rapidly from S.E. by S. and W. to N.E. with the barometer very low; and it rained nearly all day. There were several junks situated like ourselves—waiting to go in; we boarded one on the following morning, and made inquiries as to the channel, &c. We then watched one or two of them enter, which they did in capital style, the surf sometimes breaking over their high sterns as they went: the passage was rather difficult, as immediately on crossing the bar, a sharp

turn to the right has to be made. When we thought we had learned the channel, we made the trial in the cutter, and got in famously. We found that at high water there is nine feet over the bar, and at least as much for some distance up the river, which we explored for about two miles: there was an old battery at about that distance, but it appeared to be unarmed: we saw no Tartars about the place at all.

Next morning we went in again with three boats, and sailed up about six miles, surveying as we went; and then had our dinner, within view of a village about a mile and a half higher up. On rowing up thither we evidently caused great excitement: there was a hurrying to and fro of all the people, some of whom waded into the water, and laid hold of the boat to stop us. In the thick of the crowd were our friends the aides-de-camp, who had followed us down from the Great Wall, and whom we had left four days before at the "Laou-moo-kaou." The same arguments were used as on that occasion, and we were begged not to go farther.

The river here had shoaled to five or six feet; and the junks were busily engaged in discharging their cargoes into storehouses similar to those on the Laou-moo-kaou. The shallowness of the water evidently prevented a further ascent. We were told that there is a town called "Laou-ting-hsien," about ten miles from this place, whence good roads lead into the interior in all directions. There were a great many junks anchored here, and a great deal of corn was stored up in stacks in the village. Many vessels were heavily laden with timber, generally in lengths of about seven feet, which sorely puzzled us at first, until we found that they were for making coffins. This country is evidently bare of timber, and a good thick coffin is a

tribute of respect to the deceased that a Chinaman would take almost any pains to bestow.

The spies were very sedulous in preventing our obtaining any information, but were most anxious themselves to ascertain from us where we were going next. I can quite understand this, for they had now followed us for twenty days, and must have been pretty constantly in the saddle; but they got nothing but evasive answers from us—that our movements were uncertain, influenced in some degree by the wind and weather, and we should be sorry to give them any information which might mislead them on the way.

The two next days we landed further down, on a strip of beach; but all inside of us seemed to be a waste of sand, intersected by channels, as evidenced respectively by the distorted waders on the one hand, and the rows of fishing stakes, with here and there a boat at anchor in the channel, on the other. We found now that we had arrived at the Sha-lui-tien banks, which extend in a south-west direction down towards the Pei-ho, and to within fifteen miles of the mouth of that river. One of these banks higher than the others is dignified by the title of island, and on this is built a joss-house which has a known longitude; and as we knew we must be close to this spot, we made for it, and closed this section of the work, which, as I said, agreed with the position laid down, within half a mile.

Leaving the "Cruiser" here to rate the chronometers, we took a trip down to the Peh-tang-ho to see whether Mr. Ward, the American minister, was still there. On our way down we fell in with an outward-bound junk, and boarded her, to get some information. They told us, in answer to our questions, that we had been rightly informed as to there having been a fight between the

Chinese and foreigners at the Pei-ho, but they did not seem to know many particulars of it : they said that if we wished to trade up the Pei-ho, there would be no objection made to our doing so ; but that the action had been brought on by our attempting to pass the barriers by force of arms. They estimated the Chinese loss at two thousand men : and when asked if the foreigners had lost any ships, they professed ignorance on the subject. They gave us a correct account of the mouth of the Peh-tang river, but said it was not navigable for any distance.

Having contented ourselves with a distant view of the forts—for we did not wish to make ourselves conspicuous—we returned to the other vessels, and on the following day made sail for some point on the shore south of the Pei-ho, from whence to make a beginning of our work in that direction.

A river which would offer facilities for the disembarkation first of men, and then of stores, together with a road by which both might be moved into the interior, was the object of our search. A river we found twenty-five miles south of the Pei-ho, and we proposed to survey the coast between these two points ; as the appearance of the land, flat and desert, did not give us any prospect of advantage to be gained by attempting to land farther south.

We were unwilling to attract attention on this part of the coast, and so near the scene of our former fight, by firing guns ; and as the country appeared quite clear of inhabitants for a space of three or four miles, between two poor villages, we went on shore, and with the chain measured a base line two miles in length ; from either end of which we took observations of the three vessels, previously anchored in a proper triangular position.

Whilst engaged in this work we only saw one man, a very old and poor one, who, with an arrangement of matting in the form of a landing-net, was flogging horizontally a field of long grass, catching the seeds in the net. We tried to find out what he was doing it for, but having no interpreter with us at the time, we could only gather from his signs that he was about to eat it. We came to the conclusion that his wretched appearance would justify one in the belief that his ordinary diet was of no better a kind. During the course of our walk we put up a brace of hares, and saw a great number of wading birds. Having finished our work, a party of Tartars came riding down to the shore just in time to see us shove off to go on board: they sat and watched us for some time, and at last rode slowly away.

This river is very small, not more than one hundred feet wide; the entrance is difficult to find. There is a bar at the mouth which must be dry at low water, and has seven feet over it at high-water neap-tides, and nine feet at springs. Within the bar, I should think that up to the village, which is a mile and a half from the mouth, there is a channel which would never have less than ten feet of water in it.

This village is raised up on a small eminence of mud about thirty feet high, apparently collected for the purpose; otherwise, the ground being low and flat, it would be subject to destruction during high tides and bad weather. On the north side from the ordinary high-water level, a bank of softish mud, something like that of the Pei-ho, extends up about three hundred yards, after which the soil is a hard, dry baked mud, covered in places with a coarse scrubby grass, probably occasionally, though rarely, covered by the tide. Over

this ground the native carts are driven in all directions with ease, as evidenced by the number of ruts and the slight indentations. We were told that seven miles inland was a regular formed road. Close to the sea-side was a strip of cultivated ground, in which bearded wheat was planted, therefore, though this ground was on a slightly higher level than that behind, the tide could not very frequently rise much. This part is also singularly protected by a natural belt of shells thrown up like a girdle round the shore, raised above the mud inside, and as much as thirty feet wide at the top, and it seemed to follow the coast northwards for a considerable distance.

Northwards to the Pei-ho the coast is all perfectly flat, and almost level with the sea at high tide. There are six villages between the Che-kaou and the Pei-ho, all poor and wretched, and each raised on a little mound of earth. The coast is sandy and hard, until you arrive sufficiently near to the Pei-ho to meet with the mud which is carried down that river, and cast up on the shore. The tide ebbs over at least two miles of coast: and at the close of the ebb you cannot find two fathoms of water within five or six miles of land. The natives appear to find boats useless on such a coast: they live by fishing, and hang long nets out on stakes driven into the sand, which they wade out to visit from time to time. You see them frequently a couple of miles out to sea, walking about with the water only up to the knee. Indeed, boats would be but of little use to them; and I think that, on examining tolerably closely twenty-five miles of coast, containing seven villages, I did not see half a dozen boats.

We were very near losing a midshipman here, and two boys of the ship's crew. We were going to sound,

and had sent out, as usual, a boat with the tide-pole to note the rate and times of ebb and flow. The boat in this instance was the "Cruiser's" dingey. Some time after it left, we started in one of the gun-boats. During our work we were induced, from some cause which I now forget, to go in a direction not originally intended, and, whilst doing so, our attention was drawn to a black speck in the water at some distance. We made for it, and, on arriving close, we found it to be the dingey, bottom upwards, which had filled and turned over. "Master," the midshipman, had the painter tied round his neck, and was swimming away, whilst the two boys were in like manner pushing behind. They were a long distance from any of the vessels, and also from the shore, which however, would be a worse place for them even than the sea. Their condition was truly perilous, for they could do nothing with the boat, and were too far from other aid, to venture to quit its support. They tried at first to right it, but it only turned over and over, ducking and fatiguing them. They had managed to get rid of their clothes, or they would not have been able to hold out so long as they had done. They had been in the water for an hour.

By the 27th August we had got up to within six miles of the Pei-ho, having failed to see a river of which they had told us, when at the Che-kaou, called the "Yen-ho." We attempted to go on shore to look for it, but found that in the lightest boat we had, we could not approach within three miles, the tide then being low; but on the following day at high water, we were able to get within six hundred yards, when we waded to the beach. We found here the "Yen-ho." It proved to be no river, but merely a low bit of coast, over which, during very high tides, the sea would flow to the inte-

rior, and through which, no doubt, in rainy weather, the water collected on these plains would find its way into the sea. Tartars here also arrived, just too late to catch us on shore.

The Pei-ho forts were gaily decked out with flags, presenting a very different appearance from their demure and peaceable bearing on the morning of the 25th June. At night they exhibited a great number of lights, and threw light-balls from the parapets—probably to indicate that they were on the alert, and prepared for anything.

A curious feature which we observed in this part of the country was the frequent occurrence of dust storms. We often saw clouds arise inland, looking precisely like smoke from an explosion, and for a long time we considered them to be signals. It was not until we saw one near at hand, and felt its disagreeable effects, that we knew what they were. On the 30th we had a gale of wind, which probably a cunning man accustomed to the coast, might have seen foreshadowed by these whirling clouds of dust.

On the 31st it was fine enough to enable us to enter the Pei-ho, where we were anxious to see what had been done, and also were in hopes of ascertaining something of the fate of the prisoners, about whom we had heard through the Americans. This we made an excuse for the visit.

Entering the river in the "Forester," we anchored about a thousand yards below the forts, and then getting into the gig, we pulled up. We found the river full of junks, the forts decked out with banners, and the high bastions occupied by men who bustled about. Everything seemed to be in good order, and all damages repaired. It appeared to us that the iron stakes had

been moved to a position higher up the river than that which they occupied at the time of the fight; for whereas then, they were below the lower bastion, we were now able to pass nearly up to the centre one without passing through any; and in front of us we saw a line of them, the space which was left clear for the passage of junks, being marked out by two flags.

As we went up, we caused great excitement amongst the junks, and a boat was sent from the shore (an English one, supposed to be the "Highflier's" cutter, which had been lost in the action), in which was seated an official, who rowed about among them, giving orders; after which most of them began to get under weigh. Another boat was sent off to stop us, and inquire what we wanted; and, in answer to our questions about prisoners, the man in command said that the only one whom they had taken, had been given up to the Americans. He then asked us when we intended leaving the coasts; for, from our protracted stay, and continual movement from point to point, we had caused them to eat misery during the whole time. I think that the amount of misery consumed by the aides-de-camp and their party must truly have been considerable, and enjoyed for a long time.

On the 1st September we moved up to the mouth of the Peh-tang-ho, from which we could plainly see the high cavaliers of the Pei-ho forts, though those of the Peh-tang, being lower, are not visible from the Pei-ho. Whilst boats were sent out to sound, and hunt for the bar, we visited the shore to the northward; and a miserable country we found it—indeed, hardly deserving the name of country. We remained about here for six days.

On the 3rd September, whilst Bythesea was engaged

in examining the passage over the Peh-tang-ho bar, I went in a boat with Adkins to try and visit a village to the northward, under the pretext of cutting grass for our sheep. We grounded about two hundred yards from the beach, and, having taken off our shoes and stockings, and tucked up our trousers, we proceeded to wade on shore—a party of four unarmed men. Suddenly down came twenty-five Tartars, armed with spears, matchlocks, and bows, and drew up in line in front of us. They called out to us to stop, and return to our boat. We made answer that we were only coming on shore to cut grass for our sheep; but they did not care. If we might not land there, said we, where could we land to effect our purpose? They replied that they did not know, and did not care; but what they were determined about was, that if we came any nearer to the shore they would fire on us; and, saying this, they set to work puffing at their matches, and fitting the notches of their arrows on their bow-strings. We ventured one more expostulation as to their causeless rudeness and hostility, and begged them to take a message from us to the head man of the place, requesting him to send us off grass to the ship, which we were willing to pay for well. We then re-embarked in our boat, and hoisted our sail, leaving our surly opponents watching us on the beach.

At the river's mouth was Bythesea, employed in examining the entrance. With a fair wind we soon reached him, and in the two boats, pulled straight up the river, and past the forts, sketching the works, and taking our bearings and soundings as we went. We did all this so quickly, that we accomplished all we wanted without being interrupted; but it was not long before about a hundred Tartars came riding down on either side of the

river, who very likely would have had a shot at us had we attempted to go higher; for they seemed more in earnest even than our friends at the "Laou-moo-kaou," and had probably already had their taste of blood in the action at the Pei-ho, two months before. As we moved down the river, the officers mounted on one of the cavaliers of the battery and watched us out; but we were not followed.

In the next few days we explored northwards, until we found ourselves in the mazes of the Sha-lui-tien banks, where boats, fishing-stakes, and birds were all seen in confusion; birds high and dry where you expected to see deep water, boats where the banks might be, and fishing-stakes all around. We visited three poor places on the coast, "Hae-ye-tze," "Cheang-ho," and "Shang-tung." Off the former, the tide ebbing, leaves uncovered a mile and a half of shore, and, of course, can only be approached quite at high water. At Cheang-ho is a small river or creek, with an entrance rather difficult to find. This being more approachable, is furnished with a couple of mounds, intended for batteries, but unarmed. We saw some junks at anchor, loaded principally with coffin-timber, for which I should think that, in proportion to the population, the demand would be great. It is hard to conceive anything more wretched than the country at the back of these villages, and their inhabitants. There is a desert of baked mud, made glaring by patches of sand and incrustation of salt, here and there dotted over with dwarfed shrubs, which by contrast look like a black eruption. The men were half naked, and more than half black, every other creature blear-eyed and scorbutic, living only on rice and dried fish, and compelled, as we were assured, to send twelve miles for

drinking water. A great privation must be that want of water in an atmosphere such as this, a hot wind blowing over a parched and sunburnt plain, raising at each gust clouds of fine powdery dust, which chokes up all the pores in any exposed part of your body, and even finds its way under your clothing. I speak from experience, for at Shang-tung I was caught in one of these storms, such as we saw daily in numbers; but one is quite enough to fill me with compassion for those who are forced to live among them. But this is only one side of the picture—the other is still worse. Imagine the sea bound up by frost, the precarious subsistence of the fishermen for a time at an end, and the bleak northern winds blowing over these snow-clad plains, with the thermometer probably not much above zero. Of all nations or people in the world, I can imagine none worse off than the inhabitants of these coasts.

One day after wading laboriously to one of these villages for a distance of more than half a mile, with mud over our ankles, which, however, overlaid a hard bottom, we were struck by observing a string of fishermen returning from their stranded boats with comparative ease. Joining their party, we found that the foremost pair were towing over the bottom, still covered with a foot or so of water, a great jelly-fish: this displaced the mud, and left the hard bottom exposed, to the great advantage of the other waders. We were not slow to adopt the same track.

We bought a quantity of fish from these men, which we placed in a bucket of water in our boat; but whilst sailing towards the ship, past a flock of gulls, who had been interested spectators of the fishing, we were surprised to see two of them dash down into the bucket,

and each carry off as a trophy one of our late purchases.

Our survey was now brought to a conclusion, and it remained only to lay it all down definitively on paper, from the longitudes worked out after the final rating of the chronometers on our return to Shanghae—when the errors could be properly adjusted over the whole period. On our return we visited both Teng-choo-foo and Che-foo, finding a marked difference in the conduct of the people at the former place: they were now as civil as we could wish, and allowed us to walk where we pleased. We found grapes in great profusion, both good and cheap. At “Che-foo” we bought some sugar and flour, of which we had exhausted our stock, and on the 14th September we reached Shanghae, looking back with great pleasure on the cruise. Still it was in a certain way a relief to be once more in a well-known place, and not to feel the necessity of continual observing, noting, triangulating, sounding, &c., which had been our condition for the last six or eight weeks; for when we were on the move, the lead and the compass were never at rest. The extent of coast we had actually surveyed was about a hundred and fifty miles, and considering how little was known of it before, we felt that it could not fail to be of use: and it was also satisfactory to find how correctly it worked out, notwithstanding the rather peculiar circumstances under which it had been done; involving a mode of operations such as one would not choose to adopt in civilized countries and peaceable times.

CHAPTER XVII.

Return to Canton—Granary—The happy bats—We hear of what was said at home about the Pei-ho disaster—Fire in the Commissioners' yamun.

ON our return to Canton we found things not much changed since our departure: troops were expected to arrive from India, and additional buildings in the city were taken over, to be fitted up as quarters. One given over to us for this purpose was a large government granary, in which it was the practice to store rice against times of scarcity, when it would be sold at low rates, to prevent the holders of grain forming a combination to keep up famine prices. At this time it was not very full, and the governor had it cleared out for us. It was peculiarly suitable for barrack uses, from each room having a boarded floor, which was a rare luxury. It made a very good little quarter for about two hundred men.

In many of the buildings which were appropriated at different times, we found in the unused upper floors enormous numbers of bats, which clung to the interior of the roof. They were more especially numerous in the Tartar general's yamun, and in the treasury. In the latter place the roof was literally covered with them. It was hardly possible to toss up a stone without bringing down a bat; many of them measured from twenty to twenty-four inches across the wings. I believe the Chinese have a respect or superstitious

veneration for the bat. It is for some reason considered emblematical of happiness. Those unfortunate beasts which we ousted from their resting-places in the half-ruined yamuns, were still designated by the Cantonese as "the happy bats." They are frequently seen painted on the outer gates of mandarins' houses; and in the patterns on china and enamel it is a figure often met with. The tortoise is also another sacred creature. It is supposed to be symbolical of a happy old age, from its own longevity. It has also a more particular sanctity from a legend according to which the use of hieroglyphics is said to have originated from it—a mythological Chinese character having taken the idea of such a mode of expressing ideas, from a contemplation of the marks on the animal's shell.

On bringing my servant Aman back to his own part of the country, I was not surprised at his asking for leave to visit his friends, but I did not understand his asking, as he did, for a large advance of pay, a most unusual thing for him to do. On my demanding an explanation, he said that the people of his village had a war with those of a neighbouring place, and that he was desirous of joining his friends, to take part in a critical fight about to come off; but that he wished to take with him supplies from Hong Kong, in the shape of arms and ammunition.

Being a neutral, I felt myself unqualified, as I was unwilling, to deal thus in contraband of war; so, though I freely gave him leave to go home and help his countrymen, I took no further part in the affair. He returned, however, at the end of a week, saying that his people had gained a decisive victory. I can, I fear, lay no claim to having brought about the successful result.

On the 9th of November we received the mail, for which we had long and anxiously looked, containing the account of the reception in England of the news of what seemed to be, by common consent, styled the Pei-ho disaster.

We naturally were very sensitive on the subject, and, I think, felt relieved; for the view taken of the affair was as favourable as we could expect, and no doubt the feeling of disappointment in England must have been very great.

I would say to all critics, Be not hasty to judge and condemn. It is hardly possible to get at all the facts of a victory or defeat quickly. How differently are events read at first, and some time later when more extensive acquaintance with facts has given better opportunities of forming a correct judgment! The phrase in every soldier's mouth, "What will they say in England?" may be a proud one, stimulating all to a noble emulation, and determination to win the approbation of the great, or the dear ones at home; but it may also be a millstone round the neck of the responsible, who, acting for the best, and with the noblest intentions, may, by some slight error, or even without an error, by some misunderstanding, be condemned at home, half judged and unheard.

We were unfortunate enough to lose in December one of our best quarters by fire. It was a large building in the Commissioners' yamun. The wood-work being all very old, and the interior fitted up with matting, it was speedily destroyed, and the sick men who were quartered in the upper floor, were with difficulty saved. The damage was, however, almost entirely confined to this one building.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The system of kidnapping coolies, practised round Canton ; and the measures taken to prevent it, and procure the release of the captives.

AN episode, interesting in the history of our relations with China, occurred about this time. The great want of labour in distant parts of the world, more especially in the West Indies, induced our Government to attempt in China a scheme of emigration similar to that which was already being carried on in India. It was against the laws of China for her sons to quit their country, to leave, perhaps, the ground untilled ; for even the great population, and the consideration of the thickly-crowded towns and villages, had not persuaded the Government that there were men enough at home and yet to spare. However, Pih-kwei, the governor-general of the Kwang-tung province, had been prevailed upon to permit emigration houses to be established in Canton, on well-digested rules ; where emigrants might collect, and have all the terms of their agreements explained to them, before being shipped off in a regular way. One house was established by Mr. Austin, the Government emigration agent, and opened on the 10th November, and was under the express supervision of the Commissioners, who acted in the matter under the Allied Commanders. It was patronised by Laou himself, who succeeded to the government on Pih-kwei's death, as shown by the following proclamation on the subject :—

Proclamation.

(Translation.)

LAOU, decorated with a button of the first rank, Acting Governor-General of the Two Kwang Provinces, Titular Vice-President of the Board of War, Governor of the Province of Kwang-tzung, &c., &c., &c., proclaims the following injunctions for the guidance of the people.

Within and without the city of Canton there is a certain class of lawless miscreants who inveigle away, and even kidnap, peaceable people, and secretly sell them for foreign exportation. They are known by the name of the "pig-sellers," and their cruel and unnatural disposition is deserving of the deepest abhorrence. The records show that they have already been laid under severe interdicts by my predecessor in the government of this province, and that the local authorities are directed to arrest and punish them.

But among the Chinese population some are to be found who, being poor and without the means of obtaining a livelihood themselves, desire to go abroad to seek the means of subsistence. In the case of such people, their emigration is voluntary, and wholly different from that which is conducted by the kidnapper who sells his fellow-man. In order that this villany may be stopped, and the difference between it and the former made patent to the world, such means of investigation and of inspection should be provided as will plainly denote a distinction.

It has been formally intimated to the governor by the Allied Commissioners that the British government have sent an authorised agent to these provinces to establish an emigration house for the reception of emigrants for the British West Indies. To this end, it is proposed that those Chinese who wish to obtain employment in the said colonies, should go to the emigration house, and there negotiate for themselves all the conditions of service, as well as their exact destination; and that these conditions, when accepted by both parties, should be recorded in a formal contract, and a joint inquiry be held by the foreign agent and the Chinese officer specially deputed for the purpose, in order that the circumstances of each case may be clearly ascertained, and thus all the abuses attendant on

kidnapping may be eradicated. The governor is also requested by the commissioners to issue a proclamation on the subject.

The governor has accordingly directed the financial and judicial commissioners of the province to communicate the establishment of these arrangements to all their respective subordinate authorities, and require them to make the same everywhere known by proclamation, and the said commissioners will also see that the co-operation of the Chinese officers (with the foreign emigration agents) is duly provided for. And, in addition to the above, he also himself proclaims these measures to the poor classes in all places for their information. Let it be known by you all that those who desire of their own will to go abroad and seek employment in foreign lands, should proceed themselves to the emigration house and there make a clear report, when the Chinese officer and the emigration agent will carefully examine the applicants, and thus ascertain whether they are indeed voluntary emigrants, and not victims to the crafty designs of the kidnappers. This having been clearly proved, they may then negotiate together the terms of service and their future destination, and record these in a formal contract.

The necessities of the poor people being thus well consulted in these measures, while at the same time the suppression of kidnappers is equally kept in view, the former should now no longer pay any heed to the arguments of the latter, nor allow themselves to be persuaded into taking service in an underhand manner without going to the emigration house, or engaging themselves in the manner herein directed. For should they still allow themselves to be misled, they will find, when it is too late, that they have been betrayed, kidnapped, and sold. And as to the kidnappers, they indeed, of all men, should now relinquish their former evil courses, for if they persist in committing such wickedness, they shall, whenever discovered, be punished with the utmost severity of the law, and not the least clemency shall be shown them.

Let none dare to oppose the injunctions of this special proclamation.

Hien tung, 9th year, 10th month, 3rd day (October 28, 1859).

It will be seen that the governor was induced to take this course, mainly with a view to putting a stop to the dreadful atrocities committed by Chinese ruffians, who did not scruple to kidnap their countrymen, and sell them to agents, who sent them on board foreign vessels pretending that they were willing emigrants. This practice, which had been carried on at more than one port, but principally at Swatow and Whampoa, as well as at Macao, (where the coolies, temporarily confined on board receiving-ships at Whampoa, were usually sent for embarkation,) had for some time been a subject of anxious consideration. However, it was at last thoroughly exposed at Canton. I took a great interest in this question from having been one of the Allied Commissioners during the time that the investigation took place; and I feel I cannot be mistaken in thinking that an account of the whole affair in connection with legitimate emigration would be of general interest. In order to make it as authentic as possible, I have preferred inserting (where necessary) the original documents, and literal translations, of Chinese papers, to relating the story entirely in my own words.

On 6th April, 1860, the following petition had been presented to the British Consul at Canton, by the Chinese traders of that city :—

Petition.

(Translation.)

THE duly prepared petition of the Chinese mercantile community at Canton, engaged in business under the following denominations :—

Dealers in foreign goods, cotton hong, cotton yarn hong, dealers in cotton fabrics, gold shops, silver shops, rice stores,

black tea company, green tea company, Tsing-yuen tea hong, Kung-e tea hong, King-e tea hong, Hee-jin tea hong, satin ribbon hong, raw silk hong, sandal-wood hong, silk piece-goods hong, "birds' nest" shops, dealers in fish maw, &c., dyers, lead and tin shops, iron ware hong, ratan dealers, paper hong, fur shops, wood hong, new clothes shops, compradores, old cloth shops, tea box makers, matting shops, linguist guilds.

Our object in presenting this petition is to entreat that you will communicate (with the other consuls), in order that the system of kidnapping, which is being carried on by craft and violence to the great injury of the good and virtuous, may be examined into and repressed; that the people's existence may thereby be secured and a great evil done away with.

Our province of Kwang-tung has for more than two hundred years had commercial intercourse with your country; both parties have observed good faith, mutual confidence has subsisted, and each and all have enjoyed the advantages accruing. Unexpectedly the Portuguese have recently built several barracons at Macao, and in conjunction with Chinese merchants, whom they protect and screen, they have hired not only steamers and lorchas, in connection with which they make use of your country's name, but also all kinds of river-boats, large and small, all having Portuguese on board, and which anchor at Whampoa, and various other places in all parts of the Canton waters, where numerous stratagems and devices are employed in order to deceive and delude the children of virtuous families, and also the inexperienced country louts. These having been once kidnapped or seized by violence, or, as it is called, "the pigs having been bought," are taken to the large sea-going vessels, where they are bound and confined in the dark hold, and then carried to the "pig guild" at Macao. At the time of examination and numbering, such of the people kidnapped as submit escape ill-usage, while those who refuse to yield are most cruelly treated, perhaps even shot dead; and on witnessing such barbarous atrocities, their only resource is to submit under compulsion: for ah! who is there that dreads not death? They are then taken across the sea and sold as slaves, where they suffer such hardships that not one out of ten thousand

lives, while at home their parents, wives, and children, hoping to be nourished and supported by them, and having no one else to depend on, lament and mourn both morning and evening, not seeing them return. Cases even occur in which they have carried off and sold the sole existing representative of many preceding generations, the support of a mother preserving a chaste and virtuous widowhood, on whom rested hopes that he would continue the race and transmit a line of descendants, who might continue to offer up incense before the ancestral shrine. The succession thus irremediably cut off, (the mother) borne down by grief puts an end to her existence. Families are scattered and individuals perish. Alas! the kidnapping of an individual entails the extinction of a family, and as the evil has now been some years in existence, the people carried off must number sixty thousand or seventy thousand, so that the number of families ruined may be said to be sixty thousand or seventy thousand. At this point of the statement whose heart is there that is not grieved?

Possibly the Portuguese consul does not take notice or institute examinations, because he is not fully acquainted with the evil. But the British consul being right-minded and honest, and cherishing in his bosom benevolence and rectitude, will not, we imagine, sit quiet, and look on doing nothing when informed of such atrocities. Every day by which haste is made to deal with the matter will be the saving of some hundreds, whilst the consequence of a ten days' delay will be the destruction of thousands. We therefore make a clear statement of the case, and humbly request that you, the honourable consul, will communicate with the other foreign consuls, in order that, with a reverential respect towards high heaven's love of animate creation, stringent measures may be adopted and the matter examined into and dealt with. If the good people that have been carried away can be brought back again, and this great evil done away with, our gratitude will be unbounded. We accordingly repair to you, the British consul, and hope that you will grant our request.

Petition presented, Hein-fung, 9th year, 3rd moon, 3rd day (6th April, 1859).

Here follow the names of some men known to have been kidnapped.

Names of some people that have been kidnapped :—

Lo-Akang,	native of Shuntih,	aged 18,	lost in Feb. or March.
Leang A-tsuen,	„ Nan-hai,	„ 19,	„ 27th March.
Leang A-yung,	„ Nan-hai,	„ 18,	„ in January.
Fung A-teaou,	„ Ho-shan,	„ 24,	„ 2nd April.
Loo A-hung,	„ Sin-hwuy,	„ 17,	„ 8th March.
Chin A-kwang,	„ Sin-hwuy,	„ 18,	„ in February.
Ho A-chaou,	„ Nan-hai,	„ 40,	„ in February.
Chung A-tsih,	„ Kaou-yaou,	„ 48,	„ in February.
Kwan A-fut,	„ Pwan-yu,	„ 27,	„ 12th March.
Chin Yu-moo,	„ Shun-tih,	„ 20,	„ 29th February.
Leang A-wei,	„ Ho-shan,	„ 19,	„ 15th February.

The sad state of affairs as shown by the numerous petitions which were continually pouring in, and of which the above is only a specimen, moved the Allied Commanders to act in the matter as far as they were able. They issued the following proclamation :—

Proclamation.

(Translation.)

By Straubenzee, Major-General Commanding Her Britannic Majesty's Troops in China; D'Aboville, Commandant-Supérieur of the French Forces at Canton; and M'Cleverty, Senior British Naval Officer at Canton; for the purpose of strictly interdicting kidnapping, that order may be preserved, and the peaceable inhabitants protected.

THERE being in various parts of the world a want of agricultural labour, while China, on the other hand, finds it difficult to support a superabundant population, foreigners have, for some time past, hired labourers in the latter country; and the terms under which they are thus engaged to serve abroad, the rate of remuneration and period of service, &c., are drawn up and recorded in formal contracts, while advances are occasionally

made to the families who remain behind. The free consent of both parties must be obtained to these contracts, and in no case may any person be taken away against his will.

It now appears, however, that a number of Chinese have lately been going about the city and suburbs of Canton, deceiving the people by pretending to offer them foreign employment on highly advantageous terms, and, having enticed those who listened to them to some secluded place, or on board of some boat or vessel, they then deprive them of their liberty, and carry them away. Sacrificing all other feelings to their own cupidity, these lawless men have in this way caused families to be torn asunder, and have at the same time defeated the wishes of those foreigners who seek to obtain labour on just and equitable terms.

Under these circumstances, the allied commanders think it right to proclaim to the people of Canton that they not only hold these iniquitous proceedings in deepest abhorrence, but are also determined to do all in their power to suppress them. They would, therefore, warn the people to observe, in future, the strictest caution whenever applied to by Chinese, in the name of foreigners, to engage themselves for foreign service. No Chinese should think of entering into an engagement of this nature, if it be one of his own countrymen who makes the offer, until he has first satisfied himself of the character of the said agent, and whether he is guaranteed by people of respectable position. If willing, after taking these precautions, to accept employment, the emigrant should then see that he makes a contract with the foreigner himself, in which all the conditions as to rate of pay, period of service, &c., should be formally entered, and clearly understood. Be careful, therefore, to adopt this course, instead of heedlessly listening to the stories of these designing men, and allowing yourselves to be led away by their misrepresentations, probably even without taking proper precautions against a danger which may result in your being kidnapped and sold into slavery.

The Allied Commanders also inform the people that the allied police have received strict orders to render assistance to any person whom they may see carried off by force, or who,

when in company with kidnappers, may suddenly become alive to his danger. Those, therefore, who find themselves thus situated, or those who, under some pretext or other, may be openly seized by kidnappers, should boldly call out for aid, and, if within ear of the allied police, they may rely upon assistance being promptly rendered them. Or, if any injured parties can supply information that may lead to the discovery of the kidnappers, or can themselves seize these and bring them before the Allied Commanders, the latter will do all in their power to examine into their wrongs, and to see that the penalties of the law are duly inflicted. The Allied Commanders at the same time, however, warn the people that their power to aid those who are kidnapped is greatly lessened when once they have been taken afloat, as not only the numerous native craft, but also the vessels of foreign countries, are not under the control of the allies; and in respect, therefore, to all offences committed by such vessels, the appeal should be made to the authorities of the nation to which they belong.

Let all give heed to these injunctions.

A special Proclamation.

Dated April 7, 1859.

The native authorities also issued their proclamations as follows:—

Proclamation.

(Translation.)

By Pih-kwei, Governor of the Province of Kwang-tung, &c.; to ordain stringent measures for the apprehension of kidnappers, in order that a grave calamity be removed from among the people.

WHEREVER, in the province of Kwang-tung, mercantile classes are found mingled with the people, a densely-crowded population is the result. Among them may be found those who are compelled by want to search for a living wherever they can obtain it; while others, in order to drive a trade, quit, for a time, their homes, and cross the seas, or, accepting the employment offered by foreigners, obtain, by going abroad, a profitable

remuneration for their labour. Permission to their doing so should not, it is clear, be withheld in any of these cases, provided the parties themselves really consent to the arrangements; but the governor has now been informed that, of late, a number of villains are going about, in threes and fives, laying all sorts of plans for kidnapping the people, taking alike the young and strong without distinction. Under pretence of providing them with employment, they put the men whom they thus carry off on board ship, and sell them to other parties, who take them away to foreign lands. The traffic is known by the name of "the sale of pigs." Any length of time may elapse without their returning to their homes; they cannot see their parents, and they are separated from their wives, their children, and their other relations. How deeply distressing is their case!

The villains, on the other hand, who inflict this misery, being intent only on enriching themselves by means of their fraud, and blinded thereby, not only to all fear of the law, but to all sense of right, are affected by no regard for human life. Their designs, whether in point of danger or in degree of wickedness, are worse far than those of the robber or the bandit, and one recoils with horror from the contemplation of their evil doings. If stringent measures be not taken for their punishment and suppression, how are the laws to be upheld, and the peaceable people protected?

The governor has therefore directed all the civil and military authorities to require their soldiers and police to institute strict and secret search, with a view to the arrest of these offenders. But, in addition to this step, he judges it necessary to make known, by public proclamation, the following injunctions to all classes of the people in the provincial capital (or the province):—

Is not commiseration for the woes of others a universal feeling? Who is there among us who has not a brother, a child, or other near relation? These villains are like beasts, or beasts of prey—any one seizing them would wish to kill them. All of you, with united heart and hand, should search for them in every quarter, and, whether you meet with them lurking in their hiding-places, or openly engaged in practising their

violence or fraud, join together at once in arresting and bringing them in custody to the yamuns, where the extreme penalty of the law shall at once be inflicted on them. For the conviction of every kidnapper thus arrested, a reward of forty dollars shall be paid; or for information that shall lead to the seizure of any one of them ten dollars shall be awarded. This money lies now in the Treasury, ready to be bestowed upon any one who can claim it, and the promises thus made shall be faithfully kept. The object of the governor in taking this measure is to remove evil from the people. Look not, therefore, upon these injunctions as a form merely. All those houses which afford concealment to kidnappers shall, in accordance with the laws, be pulled down, and the owners of them shall be dealt with according to the statute for the concealment of great offenders. There are still within the city many houses remaining empty; the owners of these shall put them in charge of people upon whom they can place dependence, instead of carelessly engaging for this purpose persons whom they do not know, as by that means they may find they have hired some of these bad characters, and thus become involved in the consequences of these evil acts.

A special Proclamation.

Dated Hien-fung, 9th year, 3rd month, 7th day (9th April, 1859).

Observe the paternal government peeping out throughout the Chinese proclamations, and the poetical vein, quaint and simple, yet always prettily turned, which runs through most of their compositions—

Proclamation.

(Translation.)

Choo, Acting Chief Magistrate of the District of Nan-hai, &c., and Hwang, Chief Magistrate of the District of Pwanyu, &c., proclaim the following orders and stringent prohibitions, in order that a proper value may be set upon the lives of the people, and the dignity of the laws be upheld.

It has been brought to our knowledge that the city and suburbs are now infested by a class of vagabonds, who, neglect-

ing honest avocations, and seeking only to benefit themselves by injuring their fellow-men, falsely represent to the poor and to the young that foreigners wish to engage their services at a high rate of remuneration, and, under this pretence, they inveigle them away to Macao and other places, where they are sold to other parties, put on board ship, and sent to foreign countries. The common name given to the traffic is that of "the sale of pigs." The people who are thus kidnapped are torn away from their own flesh and blood, and are for ever cut off from their native homes. Cruelty and wickedness such as this cannot be exceeded.

Constituted, as we are by our office, the guardians of the people, we, the magistrates, are most deeply pained at hearing of these proceedings, and the steps we have taken for detecting and punishing the offenders are already on record. Now, however, we hear further that those engaged in this trade of kidnapping establish themselves either in houses on shore, or in lorchas, and in all sorts of native boats on the river. Such practices should be held up to general execration. Therefore, besides calling upon the military authorities and the police to institute both stringent and secret search, to close up such premises whenever found, and to proceed against the offenders; and besides, also, making such arrangements and regulations as the subject of emigration requires, showing what is allowed and what is prohibited, we furthermore proclaim to all classes of the people the following directions for their information and guidance:—

If, after the date of this Proclamation, foreigners continue to hire the people or engage labourers for service in foreign countries, let all those who are disposed to go be careful to ascertain whether the offers made them are *bonâ fide*, and that they are not exposing themselves to the kidnappers' designs; let them arrive at a distinct understanding as to the rate of remuneration, the period for which they are to be engaged, the place to which they are to proceed, and whether they will be able, when absent, to communicate with or remit money to their families or friends; and let a special contract, containing all these conditions, be then drawn up, which can be recorded in proof of the

agreement. When both parties have given their consent to these conditions, there is then no objection to your going with the foreigner ; but let all of you be warned against heedlessly listening to the specious stories told by these villains, for he who neglects this caution may fall into their snare, and find himself, without hope of redemption, a slave in a foreign land, where regrets or repentance will prove wholly unavailing.

Let all the kidnappers also see that they work among themselves a thorough reformation, and abandon their previous evil courses. If, however, they still lean to crime, and do not amend their ways, let them know that, the moment they are discovered, or information is laid against them, they shall certainly be seized and carried before our tribunals, when the penalties of the law shall be summarily and severely carried out. However disposed we may be to show mercy to offenders, as magistrates we shall, in all such cases, give prompt effect to the laws. Let all, therefore, respect and obey, and disregard not the injunctions of this special Proclamation.

Dated Hien-fung, 9th year, 3rd month, 4th day (6th April, 1859).

It will be observed, as an important fact, that Pih-kwei in the prelude to his proclamation, expressly tells the people who may be desirous to emigrate, that they have full leave to do so ; thus virtually legalizing Chinese emigration in the territory over which he held jurisdiction. He, with an enlargement of ideas beyond that of many of his countrymen, is induced knowingly to sanction a violation of Chinese law and custom, in consideration of the extreme exigency of the case. In Laou, who had succeeded to the governorship on his death, we met with equal liberality of feeling.

In order to understand the narrative fully, it must be borne in mind that Whampoa, or "Chang-chow," as it is called by the natives, is the port of Canton ; it is situated about seven miles below the city ; and here all

the trading-vessels lie, and take in their cargoes from native boats sent down the river. There is a bar above Whampoa which impedes a further ascent for large vessels, except under very favourable circumstances of tide. The anchorage also is much more roomy and commodious there than it would be found off Canton; therefore, ships used to lie there and take in their wretched freight, supplied from the native boats in which the captives were secreted.

On the 1st November, Laou sent down an armed force to make a sudden descent on the native boats at Whampoa: this was so well managed that they captured thirty-six suspected kidnappers, together with forty-one of their victims. An examination ensued which resulted in the conviction of twenty-nine of the offenders, of whom eighteen were executed. The victims, of course, had either not yet been presented to the foreigners, or had been returned as unsound or unwilling, and, of course, only represented a fraction of those unlawfully detained. Laou, in his perplexity, wrote to the Commissioners as follows:—

Governor-General Laou to the Allied Commissioners.

(Translation.)

It having appeared that in China there is a class of miscreants who kidnap innocent people, and clandestinely sell them for export under the name of "selling pigs," to the undoubted detriment of the country, I deputed an officer secretly and assiduously to search for and seize (such characters). He has now in the Chang-chow country (the Whampoa anchorage) apprehended a number of kidnappers, and brought out thence many persons who had been kidnapped.

These people state in their depositions that they had been already sent on board foreign ships, and sent back again, on account of age or disease; also that there now are several per-

sons detained (on board); and I now enclose copy of the statements made by forty-one kidnapped persons who have been examined, that you, the honourable Commissioners, may be fully informed of the infamy of kidnapping.

As far as I have hitherto known of foreigners, the majority of them are skilled in business, and discern what is right, and I do not think that they would intentionally engage in this kidnapping business: it is evidently native miscreants who carry on this most detestable part between both parties (*i.e.*, between Chinese and foreigners).

In the midst of the constant intercourse which I have lately had with you for the purpose of framing regulations upon a secure basis, and setting on foot a measure calculated to further this business, I am apprehensive that other countries may not be fully informed upon the subject. Besides, therefore, communicating the arrangements to the consuls of different nations, it is incumbent on me, knowing, as I do, from experience, how admirably the honourable Commissioners manage matters, and their clear and comprehensive discernment, to request that you will submit the whole case for the consideration of the allied Commanders-in-Chief, that they may judge as to the practicability of making it generally known to all nations, that whenever their respective subjects come to China to hire labourers, they must decide upon a set of fixed regulations with the local authorities for carrying out the business under a system of close and strict surveillance; and if unwilling to act under regulations, they will then be prohibited to hire Chinese to go abroad, and thus the abuses which kidnapping gives rise to would be prevented.

Chin-sze deposes that two persons named Lae-a-she and Yeh-a-fuh, and Tsang-e states that four others, are all detained on board a foreign ship. If you can discover for me in what ship they may be, and, provided she has not sailed, procure their release, I shall consider that you, the honourable Commissioners, must have managed the matter with proper secrecy and despatch.

I therefore send you this communication, availing myself, &c.
A necessary communication.

(Dated November 8, 1859.)

He then seeks to improve the occasion by the following proclamation :—

(Translation.)

WHEREAS in the city of Canton and the surrounding country, there were a set of lawless vagabonds who kidnapped and decoyed harmless people for the purpose of selling them privately to go abroad under the name of "selling pigs;" having the hardihood to violate what is right by their most detestable acts, I deputed an officer to prosecute a vigorous search (for these offenders), and he captured twenty-nine of them at the Whampoa anchorage, besides bringing up thence forty-one innocent people who had been kidnapped. These parties were confronted and carefully examined, and in virtue of the imperial warrant which I have the honour to hold, I decapitated, for an example, eighteen of the criminals whose guilt, as persons who had been repeatedly engaged in kidnapping, was most heinous, and was punishable by death according to law. The remaining criminals were also punished, each according to his deserts, so as sufficiently to quiet men's minds and afford a notable warning. Punishment following upon crime, however, not being, in my opinion, so good as to warn men against its commission, it becomes absolutely necessary to publish this far and near, so that the hardened wretches may be filled with awe.

Besides again ordering, therefore, all the local, civil, and military authorities to prosecute the search vigorously, it becomes my duty to issue a proclamation for (general) information: know ye, therefore, the people of every place, hereby, that kidnappers, who privately sell men to go abroad, will be beheaded immediately upon their apprehension, so severe upon this point is the law of the land. Thus, those eighteen men who have now been punished, were tempted solely by the love of gain. Little did they know that Heaven would not endure them; that it is difficult to escape from the meshes of the law, and that, in the space of a moment, their heads would be severed from their bodies.

Was this not dreadful? All you who are of this stamp must wake up without delay, and exert yourselves to change your.

former evil courses. On no account tread again in the old track, to place your persons in jeopardy of the law.

Loving the people as my children, but firmly bent upon adherence to the law, I hope that, by ceasing to do evil, and learning to do well, you will protect your own lives. I, therefore, do not hesitate to reiterate this again, and if (any one) dare to disobey, repentance will be unavailing.

Let everyone tremblingly observe this special proclamation.

He also communicated with the foreign consuls on the subject, and received replies from the English, Dutch, and American representatives, of which the latter was peculiarly gratifying—only it is to be regretted that subsequent facts scarcely bore out the professions made at this time.

After this, petitions continued to pour in upon Laou from Chinese, who asserted that their relatives had been kidnapped, and taken on board foreign ships lying at Whampoa, where they were detained against their will; so after communicating with the American and Spanish consuls, he sent again, on the 31st December, some of his officers to the place, with instructions to remove any kidnapped men whom they might find on board foreign vessels, not limiting their inquiries to those on the subject of whom petitions had been received. They were accompanied by the American Vice-Consul. They visited three American vessels, one Oldenburgh barque, one Spanish, and one Peruvian. They found coolies on board the four first—the “Messenger,” “Governor Morton,” “Pioneer,” and “Fanny Kirchner,” all notorious coolie receiving-ships, and at that time under engagements to Spanish agents. After certain inquiries they took away eight men; six from the American ships, and two from the Oldenburgh. In the course of the performance of this duty, it became

evident that many kidnapped men were on board the different vessels, in direct opposition to Laou's orders as given in the following letter, written in November, 1859.

Mr. Perry, the American consul, had been trying to prevail on Laou to legalize these receiving-ships at Whampoa, but without success; for he points out with clearness the disadvantages attending such a step. There is no reason to doubt that Mr. Perry was careful to visit the ships of his country so engaged from time to time, but such visits do not appear to have produced all the effect desired.

Governor-General Laou to Mr. Perry.

(Translation.)

I HAVE carefully perused the representation which you made, requesting me to appoint an officer at Whampoa to aid the ship-masters in procuring labourers, and follow on the fixed rules for the prevention of kidnapping. You state also that the ship-masters would contribute for the purchase of a large vessel as his residence.

Now, by the regulations about hiring coolies which the French and English have determined on, an office has been opened at Canton for this purpose, which is worked with the assistance of a Chinese officer on the spot. Parties who wish to go abroad as labourers must first come to the office at Canton, ascertain the rate of wages and term of service, which are registered as proof, and then go on board ship upon the day agreed upon, so as to obviate confusion.

I have fully satisfied myself of the soundness of these measures, and given them my adhesion; but as for carrying such out at Whampoa, the place is too far from Canton, and the officer would find it difficult to work; whilst the difficulties of investigation would be much increased, owing to the little control which can be exercised over the movements of the receiving-

ships: besides, it would not agree with the fixed rule now adopted in the office at Canton.

Moreover, kidnappers have been emboldened hitherto to carry on their lawless trade by having receiving-ships to retire to. I find that no cases of this crime occurred before these vessels anchored at Whampoa; and there can be no doubt that the schemes of kidnappers were the offspring of the receiving-ship system.

But, further, establishing such a vessel at Whampoa would be like anchoring her out at sea, and would give an ever-increasing impulse to the plots of these vagabonds for decoying people. The place is an out-of-the-way one, where it would not be easy for Chinese and foreign officials to conduct investigations; and kidnappers, at present, are very numerous.

An officer, deputed by me, released there some time ago forty-one persons who had been kidnapped, and made prisoners of thirty-six kidnappers; whereupon I beheaded eighteen of the most guilty. Indeed, it is but too apparent that the whole country swarms with these wretches; and were a receiving-ship established, I very much fear that we could not put a stop to the old practice, and that the kidnapping of poor people forced into an unwilling contract, and the deaths of very many of them, would injure the plans which both you and I wish to devise for putting an end to the evil. This would be most deplorable: rather let the regulations of the office at Canton be generally adopted, and the investigations conducted in this vicinity with the officer I have deputed, thus complying with the fixed rule, and adhering to one uniform plan.

It is plain that the mere existence of a receiving-ship at Whampoa was contrary to regulation, therefore Laou was naturally displeased at his officers having neglected the order he had given them to examine *the whole* of the coolies; not that the poor fellows were entirely to blame, for they were deprived of their interpreter, Mr. Mayer, who had accompanied them; the American vice-consul having refused to

allow him to act on board an American ship, on the plea that he was a British officer. Therefore, Laou wrote again to Mr. Perry, explaining that his wishes had not been carried out, and begging him to accompany his officers to Whampoa, in person, and bring up *the whole* of the coolies for examination. At the express request of the Chinese officers, and with the perfect consent of Mr. Perry, Mr. Mayer was selected to act as interpreter, as, besides being well capable of executing the duty, he was in no way connected with the Allied Commissioners, of whose interference, the parties concerned might be jealous.

When the party was on the point of starting, Laou received intelligence that the "Messenger" was about to sail immediately with a cargo of upwards of six hundred coolies. He accordingly wrote off at once to Mr. Perry, to inform him of the fact, "making a declaration with all speed," and requesting him to take steps to detain the "Messenger" pending the examination; at the same time instructing the hoppo, or native officer of customs, to act in concert with him. Poor Laou having now done all he can, sits down to rest, and away go the deputed officers, with Mr. Perry and Mr. Mayer, on their errand.

Before commencing operations, the Chinese officers intimated their intention of only taking away the unwilling, and allowing the willing to remain. It was in vain pointed out that such a course would be at variance with their orders, which were plainly to bring *all* the coolies up to Canton for examination: their determination was fixed. This did not augur well for the result.

They did not get down until late in the evening. When they went on board the "Messenger," the

consul drew the captain aside, doubtless to explain matters. This explanation was evidently very distasteful to the latter, for he was heard to exclaim he would allow no Chinaman to come on board his ship, and that he would not be delayed a moment. Mr. Perry then threatened to leave the vessel, and not permit her to go to sea. The sight of Mr. Mayer added fuel to the flames: Captain Manton absolutely refused to allow him even to remain on board the "Messenger," saying he "would have no Englishman on board, from the grand admiral down;" and threatened to put him over the side, if he did not go by himself. In vain was explanation given, as to his position there, being only in the character of interpreter to the Chinese officers: there was no way of preventing violence, but by Mr. Mayer leaving the ship, which he was at length requested by Mr. Perry to do.

After a time they all left for the night, having made arrangements to conduct the examination on board in the morning. The Chinese officers still expressed their determination to pursue the course they had chosen, leaving the willing emigrants on board; notwithstanding that they were reminded that, according to their instructions, the examination was to be held on *all* the coolies at Canton. Their plea was, that they had been directed to avoid disturbance with the foreigners.

On explanation being given them why Mr. Mayer could not act on board as interpreter, they acquiesced; saying, that when threatened with violence, it is always best to go away.

Mr. Mayer being thus prevented from acting on board the American ships, undertook his duties on board the Oldenburgh vessel, in interpreting for "Chu," the Nanhai magistrate, and Major Tao, a Chinese

officer; the other officers carrying on the investigation in the American ships with the assistance of the interpreter of the interested parties.

The Oldenburgh consul attended, and an examination was held on board the "Fanny Kirchner," Mr. Bidau, the charterer, being also present. However, they did not do much beyond discussion, for Mr. Bidau stipulated that he should be reimbursed by the mandarins, to the amount of forty-five dollars for each coolie removed from the ship. The very first man examined, said he was unwilling to emigrate, but on Mr. Bidau saying that on a previous occasion he had expressed willingness, the mandarins would not claim him. They said, that in case of his refusing to give up any men, whether kidnapped or not, they would content themselves with arguing the point. This whole proceeding being so useless and absurd, the examination was broken off.

Meanwhile, the officers engaged in examining the American vessels had completed their task to their entire satisfaction: they had been hospitably entertained with champagne, and left the business in the hands of the ship's linguist. In all fifty-one coolies were surrendered to them as unwilling to remain.

The whole party then devoted themselves to the "Fanny Kirchner." Mr. Bidau demanded that his own interpreter should be allowed to question the coolies, but the officers very properly insisted on the employment of their own, one Li, a native.

I have before said that so numerous and different are the dialects employed in China, that it is the commonest thing to see interpreters acting in conversation, even between Chinamen.

The examination was made on deck, the men being

generally brought up singly. About fifty-nine declared their unwillingness to emigrate, whilst about forty agreed to go. A discussion now ensued on the subject of the compensation, which Mr. Bidau urged, and in which he was backed up by the Oldenburgh consul, but no decision was arrived at; and they finally left the ship, pending a reference to be made by the officers to Laou. The unwilling coolies were left on deck, whilst those who were content to remain were sent below. The consul was prevailed upon to permit all the coolies to remain on board till the following evening, but stated that he should claim demurrage for his ship.

Shortly after, Mr. Bidau visited the mandarins in hot haste, saying that the coolies left on deck refused to go below, fearing that they would be abandoned by the officers. One of the magistrates returned with him and tranquillised the poor fellows, persuading them to go below, but the moment he left the ship, some of them made a rush, jumped overboard, and got away into native boats: one man was seen to sink. A report sprung up, also, that the coolies had threatened to rise, and murder the Christians; whereupon the consul begged the officers to take them away. Accordingly, forty-seven of them were removed and put on board a native war-boat. Out of the number (fifty-nine) who had declared themselves unwilling in the afternoon, five had changed their mind, and seven were missing; of whom three were known to have jumped overboard, and the other four had most probably done the same. The consul was given a receipt for the forty-seven men, and produced the following memorandum, to which the Chinese officers agreed:—

Memorandum.

THE men who, before the deputed mandarins, said they would not go to the Havana on their own accord have to be kept at the disposal of the said mandarins or the governor-general, either on board the "Fanny Kirchner" or on board another ship under the guarantee of the Oldenburgh consul.

They are to be examined before the governor-general in the presence of the Oldenburgh consul and M. Bidau, who is allowed to bring his own witnesses, to prove that these men, after a close investigation, declared themselves willing to go to Havana, and signed the contract without any compunction¹ (*sic*) of his.

The money and clothes which M. Bidau can prove to have given to them shall be given up, in the state given, or a fair indemnity be consented to on the part of the mandarins; or if not the coolies should be allowed to stick to the contract which they made with M. Bidau.

(Signed) R. CARLOWITZ,
Consul for Oldenburgh.

These proceedings had lasted until late at night on the 4th January.

Laou now found himself again foiled in his endeavours to ascertain the condition of the remainder of the coolies, for it was difficult to imagine, in the face of what was reported, that so many of these men were really willing emigrants; and it seemed very desirable that the investigation should be held on dry land, in the hall of a native official, rather than on board the slave-ship itself. It will be remembered that the interpreter of the ship acted on board the American vessel: in this case ten per cent. were liberated; whereas on board the Oldenburgh ship, the mandarin's interpreter acted, and fifty per cent. were liberated.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that Laou wrote

¹ So it would appear. Mr. Carlowitz probably meant to say "compulsion," but the lapsus is rather happy.

again to the American consul, demanding that *all* the coolies should be sent up, at the same time giving orders for the non-issue of clearance papers to the "Messenger" and "Fanny Kirchner." Mr. Perry agreed to this course at a personal interview he had with the governor-general on the 5th January, and himself proposed that the "Messenger" should be brought up for the purpose. So far all was settled, and poor old Laou wrote off to the Allied Commissioners for aid and sympathy.

Governor-General Laou to the Allied Commissioners.

(Translation.)

It is on record that the United States' consul lately requested permission for the hiring of labourers on board receiving-ships stationed at Whampoa, when I replied to the effect that kidnappers had hitherto been emboldened in their criminal occupations by the existence at Whampoa, and elsewhere, of receiving-ships, on board which to dispose of their victims; and that, beyond a doubt, the receiving-ships are the originating cause of the existence of kidnappers.

Furthermore, Whampoa, a remote locality, is, as it were, out at sea, and the receiving-ships, having no fixed berths, would give an ever-increasing impulse to the plots of these villains for decoying people; while it would be difficult for both Chinese and foreign officials to conduct investigations, and I fear it would be impossible to prevent kidnapping and similar evils.

An office should in all cases be established at Canton, and the affair be conducted in uniformity with the rules and regulations originally adopted by the English and French.

I have already written minutely and distinctly in reply to Mr. Perry, the United States' consul, that he might act accordingly, and I also communicated with the Commissioners, in order that you might look into the matter. In addition to this, I forwarded a circular, declaring to the consuls of all nations that one law exists (for the guidance of all).

In the course of this month, it has been reported by many of the Chinese people that numbers of honest men had been kidnapped, and forcibly carried off by villains who take them to Whampoa to sell as pigs (coolies) on board foreign vessels. Petitions to this effect were received in numbers. It was further reported by deputed officers, that of late several American, Spanish, Peruvian, and Oldenburgh receiving-ships have been anchored at Whampoa, on board which coolies are received and sold. Hereupon I at once appointed civil and military officers, and wrote to the different consuls to co-operate with them in investigating the matter.

My officers reported that they, in co-operation with the American vice-consul, had removed and brought back six kidnapped men: beside whom there were on board each of the vessels several tens of Chinese, in some cases upwards of one hundred; and judging from the circumstances that came under their notice, there must still be many who are unwilling to go abroad.

I again appointed additional officers to go once more on board the ships and make inquiry, and I wrote to the said consul to co-operate with them, with due diligence, in the matter. These officers report that on arriving at Whampoa they examined a number of coolies on board the American vessels; that the said consul would not permit them to seek out and bring back each individual, desiring that they should conduct the inquiry on board the ships; and that he would not permit their interpreter to go on board, but compelled them to use the linguist on board the ship, who is, at the same time, the man employed by the coolie brokers as interpreter.

It is not convenient to have receiving-ships anchored at Whampoa, for the receipt and sale of coolies, in putting a stop to the evils of kidnapping. I have already distinctly written this to the United States' consul, and have also forwarded a circular despatch to the consuls of other countries, whose replies I have received, to the effect that they would shape their conduct accordingly; and yet there are still receiving-ships at Whampoa loaded with numbers of Chinese. This is very far from being in accordance with my late declaration.

I have repeatedly written to the said consul to co-operate with my deputed officers in making inquiry, but he has not shown a willingness thoroughly and diligently to take the matter in hand. The result is that honest men, unwilling to go abroad, will be torn from their relatives and friends, and suffer unbounded distress. This, indeed, is widely at variance with my determination, as governor-general, to protect the Chinese people, and a notable departure from the rules and regulations originally established ; nor can I permit it to exist.

The intimate knowledge possessed by the authorities of your own and other countries with what is right before Heaven, and their own equitable characters, are an assurance that they also cannot endure that honest men, for no fault of their own, be kidnapped and distressed.

Now, if this matter be not deeply probed and distinctly dealt with, loud appeals will be made to me by the relatives of the kidnapped men, when it is no longer possible to investigate and act. Besides, in future, other nations will indiscriminately adopt the precedent, and who can say what the result will be? And if the matter be improperly managed, I apprehend that much recrimination and unseemly dispute will ensue, greatly at variance with my wishes in treating with the consular corps.

Mr. Perry, accompanied by the commissioners, came yesterday to my yamun, when it was decided, in the first place, that all the Chinese clandestinely shipped on board the receiving-ships established at Whampoa should be delivered in full, and brought to Canton, to await examination by deputed officers, and to be dealt with according to their respective cases. I anticipate no hesitation in this matter.

Further, a rule must be established hereafter, in order to put a stop for ever to the evil of the system of receiving-ships for the purchase of kidnapped men, that the distress of the people may cease, and the existing amity and peace be secured. Rules and regulations must be decided upon for all alike to respect, that we may look forward to a continuance of friendly relations.

Knowing, therefore, that the allied Commanders-in-Chief are men experienced and just, careful and unremitting in the con-

duct of affairs, and whose opinions will have weight with the foreign community (of Canton), I must request the honourable Commissioners to lay the subject before them, in order that their Excellencies may publicly consult thereon, and having concerted an efficient course of action, speedily advise me of the same, in order that I may communicate with the various consuls, and urge on them the adoption of one uniform system, to the mutual advantage both of foreigners and Chinese. I believe that my views will be concurred in both by the Commissioners and by the allied Commanders-in-Chief.

I enclose copies of my correspondence with Mr. Perry, four letters in all, together with the replies received from the different consuls (to the circular of November).

Hien-fung, 9th year, 12th month, 14th day (January, 6 1860).

The following are the consular replies to his circular, before alluded to. No one enters into the question with more spirit than Mr. Perry.

Statement by Consul Winchester.

I HAVE received your Excellency's letter stating that "some kidnappers have now been seized at Whampoa, and a number of coolies have been delivered, who state, on examination, that numbers of men have already been shipped. I enclose copies of the depositions of the kidnapped men.

"With reference to the statement of Chên-sz, to the effect that two men, Lai-a-shih and Yeh-a-fu, and that of Tsêng-zi, to the effect that four other men have been shipped, I must ask whether you can investigate this matter for me, and release these men."

On receipt of this despatch I felt great pleasure at your Excellency's effort to put a stop to the sufferings of the people. Kidnapping is a most detestable crime, and is held in deep abhorrence by Great Britain. For many years our vessels have been forbidden to carry cargoes (of coolies), in order to put a stop to this evil. The case, therefore, of the six men now on board foreign ships does not concern British vessels.

It is not within my province to make investigation on board the vessels of other nations ; but I have notified the other foreign consuls, and requested them to take the matter in hand. Immediately on discovery of the men, they must certainly be surrendered.

Statement by Mr. Vanderhoeven, Dutch Consul at Canton.

I HAVE received your Excellency's declaration of the 15th of the 11th month, stating that "there are in China certain villains who kidnap and decoy honest men, whom they clandestinely sell to go abroad. They are known as pig-brokers, and inflict great distress upon the country. Rules and regulations must be adopted for their apprehension and punishment, in order to put a stop to the distress of the people.

"With regard to the statement of Chên-sz, that two men, and that of Tséng-yi that four others, have been shipped on board foreign vessels, can you examine this matter for me, and ascertain the nationality of the vessel on board which they are?"

Holland has hitherto had nothing to do with the hiring of labourers to go abroad ; but in case, hereafter, there be a wish to enter on an enterprise of this kind, it will undoubtedly be my duty to order compliance with the established rules. On receipt of your declaration, I at once communicated with my own government, and I feel certain that they will direct subjects of Holland to act in conformity, in order to obviate all differences.

Among the vessels chartered by French subjects at Whampoa, there is one under the Dutch flag, and I yesterday went on board that vessel, with the two witnesses sent by the French consul, to make inquiry whether there were any men who had been subjected to compulsion ; and after a thorough examination, none such were found. Not one of the names on the list were discovered on board. I replied to this effect to the French consul, and sent back the two men, with the notice that they could go to Macao, to make inquiry of the men hired by the French, who, until the departure of the vessel, reside at Macao, where they could make inquiry.

It is my duty to reply to your Excellency, giving an account of the investigation I conducted.

Further Statement by Mr. Vanderhoeven.

As I was on the point of replying to your Excellency's declaration of the 15th of the 11th month, I received your declaration of the 29th to the following effect:—"If hereafter it be desired to engage in the enterprise of hiring labourers, the established regulations must be adhered to, and an office opened at Canton. None can be allowed elsewhere than at that city, nor may receiving-ships be used."

A copy of your reply to the American consul's declaration was also inclosed.

When the intentions of the United States are considered, it appears that the evil of kidnapping can be obviated,¹ but at Whampoa at present, the sums paid to agents for procuring labourers are considerable, and that such should be the case is exceedingly improper. The circumstances must be fully investigated, when a safe conclusion may be arrived at.

I therefore forwarded a copy of your Excellency's declaration to the captain of the Dutch vessel chartered by a French subject at Macao, for his perusal and instruction; forbidding him hereafter to receive on board labourers of this description, as it would be contrary to the local regulations, and not in accordance with the principles of justice.

Your Excellency attaches great importance to the rules and regulations established with regard to this matter, and I have forwarded copies to my own Government for their guidance.

Statement by Mr. Perry, United States' Consul at Canton.

I HAVE received your Excellency's declaration stating that kidnappers have been rigorously searched for and seized, and that a number of kidnapped men have been delivered. Also

¹ This seems to be the meaning of the consul: the Chinese is unintelligible—it may mean, "I fear that kidnapping cannot be prevented."—*Translator.*

that you have authorized the establishment of a new code of regulations, permitting the emigration of Chinese as labourers.

In the case of Chên-sz and Tsêng-zi, who stated that six men have been kidnapped, you request me to make inquiry. I am greatly pleased with the regulations established by your Excellency, authorizing the engagement of Chinese to go abroad as labourers; and with due diligence will rigorously seize and bring to justice the villains who are guilty of kidnapping. I have already apprehended four kidnappers, who were delivered to the Pwan-yü magistrate for trial.

On board the vessel of my nation there are no men unwilling to emigrate as labourers, nor any who have been subjected to compulsion. Some time ago I minutely inspected all the ships, and strict precautionary measures have been taken to prevent crimes of this grave description. I have already personally set at liberty not a few men who at first were willing to go abroad, but who, after receiving the prescribed payment, asserted their unwillingness to go.

With reference to the statement of Chên-sz and Tsêng-zi, that six men have been kidnapped, I have examined all the American vessels, but they are on board none of them, and it appears that they must be on board ships of some other nation.

I shall be delighted to assist your Excellency in putting a stop to the detestable crime of kidnapping, and I accordingly notify you to this effect.

If any Americans are leagued with Chinese for this lawless purpose of kidnapping, I shall assuredly deal with them with the utmost severity.

[*Note*.—In the foregoing four translations of documents which are themselves translations into Chinese, there are a few sentences in which the exceeding ambiguity of the original has rendered a close adherence to the Chinese necessary, regardless of the apparent meaning.—W. S. F. MAYERS.]

CHAPTER XIX.

The Coolie question complicated.

ON the 7th January, Laou hearing nothing of the expected arrival of the "Messenger," wrote to Mr. Perry to inquire how matters stood, and suggesting that if it should be inconvenient to bring up the vessel itself to Canton, and more desirable to transport the coolies in boats, he should be apprised of the fact, in order that he might make the necessary arrangements. He offered assistance also in men and boats for this purpose, if they should be required.

However, on the same day, Mr. Perry appeared before him with the astounding intelligence that the coolies had all been removed from the "Messenger," and conveyed he knew not where. Laou took it quietly, merely saying that he looked to the consul to produce them, and would not issue the clearance papers till all was settled. Thereupon Mr. Perry promised to go to Whampoa himself, and make inquiries; he doubted the Governor-General's right to detain the vessel, now that the coolies were out of her, and said he would go to Hong Kong, and see Mr. Ward, the United States' minister, on the subject.

Laou having been informed that evening that the coolies had been sent in a river steamer to Macao

(a Portuguese port), he wrote off to Mr. Perry and also to Mr. Ward.

(Translation.)

LAOU, Governor-General, &c., makes a declaration.

It is reported to me that, on the night of January 5, the small steamer "Mei-li" took from the "Messenger," one of the four American ships which have coolies on board at Whampoa, several hundreds of coolies, whose exact number is not known. As soon as they were on board she left the port.

It is also reported that there are still the three American ships "Governor Morton," "Pioneer," and "Kitty Simpson," all having cargoes of coolies, to the number of one hundred or two hundred in each case.

It is also reported that the American ship "Live Yankee," lately arrived at Whampoa, is also to receive a cargo of coolies.

The receipt of these reports has caused me surprise beyond measure. On the 5th of January you, the consul, came personally to my official residence, when it was decided between us that the five hundred and seventy-eight coolies, whom you stated yourself to be on board the "Messenger," should be brought back in full to Canton for examination; and I intended at once to appoint an officer to proceed, with boats and a force, to take charge of the men. Shortly afterwards you personally suggested that the men should be brought to Canton on board the "Messenger" herself, for the sake of convenience and despatch; to which proposal I at once agreed.

The "Messenger," however, has not by any means complied with this arrangement, and come to Canton; but, on the contrary, on the night of the 5th of January, clandestinely transferred to the "Mei-li" steamer some hundreds of the coolies whom she had on board, and who were taken out of the port.

On the 7th of January you again visited me, stating that you had heard that the "Messenger" had transshipped all the coolies on board another vessel.

This is greatly at variance with our previous arrangement. Has the captain of this American vessel deceived me, the

governor-general, or you, his consul? The matter is utterly inexplicable.

In Article XI. of the treaty lately concluded with the United States, it is stated that "citizens of the United States, either on shore or in any merchant-vessel, who may insult, trouble, or wound the persons or injure the property of Chinese, or commit any other improper act in China, shall be punished only by the consul, or other public functionary thereto authorized, according to the laws of the United States." Now it is reported, in the petitions of numbers of Chinese subjects, that their children, brothers, and other relatives have been kidnapped by Chinese villains and sold on board American ships, in the holds of which they are confined. Furthermore, the officers whom I deputed, in co-operation with yourself, lately took from three American vessels fifty-one Chinese, who, on examination, all state that the several hundreds of Chinese who are on board the above-mentioned four American ships were all detained by force in the vessels' holds, with other matters of this kind. Now, the case of men causelessly detained by force on board American vessels, whereby friends and relatives are torn apart, and distress without end is inflicted upon them, is without a parallel in respect to the injury it entails. No other course is open to me, the governor-general, than to make a note of the names of the captains of the American ships "Messenger," "Governor Morton," "Pioneer," and "Kitty Simpson," and report them to you, the consul, to be dealt with for violence towards subjects of China. It is my duty to request that you will give your attention to this matter, and will thoroughly and diligently deal with the case; and will, besides, search out and bring back to Canton the entire number of Chinese confined on board the four vessels. Upon you, as consul, rests, I believe, the responsibility of this affair; nor will it be difficult for you to manage the matter yourself.

When you visited me yesterday, you stated that it was your intention to proceed to Hong Kong, in order fully to report this matter to the minister of your honourable nation; and I, also, must at once make the violence offered to Chinese by the said captains the subject of a communication, when I shall request

the minister of your honourable country fully to investigate and deal with the matter. I am confident that your minister will, with undeviating justice, conform to the provisions of the treaty in the conduct of affairs.

The port-clearances of the "Messenger" and the other vessels cannot, of course, be issued until a final settlement of this affair has been arrived at.

(Dated January 8, 1860.)

Governor-General Laou to Mr. Ward.

(Translation.)

Canton, January 8, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to communicate with your Excellency with reference to the request of the American consul, that I would allow receiving-ships to anchor at Chang-chow (Whampoa) to take in emigrants; and my answer made then, that the scoundrels who kidnapped my people dared to do so only because these receiving-ships were anchored there and at other places to receive (their victims), and that it was clear, beyond a doubt, that it was these receiving-ships that enabled the kidnappers to carry on their trade. Moreover, that Whampoa was so far away (almost out at sea, in fact), the anchorages so ill-defined, and the wiles of the kidnappers so various, as to render it next to impossible for the authorities, Chinese or foreign, to exercise proper supervision (over the trade), and that kidnapping would continue as bad as ever if I granted his request. I then instructed him that he must establish a *depôt* at Canton, and be guided by the rules agreed to by the English and French in all business of this nature. This he allowed a month to pass without doing, allowing meanwhile American ships to anchor at Chang-chow and take in coolies till my *yamun* was positively besieged by fathers, uncles, and brothers, petitioning me that their sons, &c., had been carried off by native kidnappers, sold to and detained on board American vessels at Whampoa.

It was discovered by the officers I despatched with the Ameri-

can consul to examine the American vessels at Chang-chow, that there were numbers of men on board them; and he told me himself, on the 13th instant (5th January), that there were five hundred and seventy-eight on board the "Messenger," promising at the same time to send them up to Canton.

On the 15th (7th January) he waited on me with another very different statement, that all the men on board the "Messenger" had been put on board some other ship and sent away; also stating that he would proceed to Hong Kong and inform your Excellency of the matter.

I have heard since that, on the evening of the 13th, the steamer "Mei-li" took upwards of two hundred of the men from the "Messenger" on board, and left with them.

I did not intend to have troubled your excellency in the matter, but as Mr. Consul Perry intends to report it to you, I have had my six despatches to his address copied and enclosed; and knowing your Excellency's desire to act justly in all matters, I rest assured that you will direct Mr. Consul Perry to bring the four captains who have forcibly detained innocent Chinese on board their vessels to justice, to recover the two hundred odd taken from the "Messenger" by the "Mei-li," and to send up all the men on board American vessels for examination.

This will be in accordance with the treaty and the emigration regulations; and if your Excellency does so, my notification will be respected by other nations, &c.

He also wrote to the Portuguese consul at Canton, informing him of the case, and requesting that the men should not be detained at Macao, but be sent back to Whampoa, to await their removal to Canton for examination.

On the same day, the Oldenburgh consul wrote to Laou, saying that the "Fanny Kirchner" was now free from coolies, and begged she might be cleared. But he got the reply, that as the shipment of them had been contrary to regulation, she could not be allowed to depart until the thirty-one coolies (who were admitted

to have been sent from her) had been produced at Canton.

On the 9th the Commissioners having occasion to visit Laou, found Mr. Perry there, with ninety-five coolies, whom he had just brought up from Whampoa, and whom he was endeavouring to persuade his Excellency to examine then and there; and by means of an interpreter unable to speak the Mandarin dialect, in which alone Laou could converse.

He was reminded that 578 was the number of men required to be forthcoming, and not 95; and that not only should they be asked if they were willing to go abroad, but whether they consented to the contract under which they had engaged themselves to M. Vargas, the chartered agent for Morales and Co. Mr. Perry was displeased at the interference of the Commissioners in the matter, for he saw that by bringing the men to Canton, which was in the occupation of the allied forces, he had rendered himself amenable to their authority. However, he was offered the alternative of taking them all back again to Whampoa, which he declined, and it was finally arranged that they should remain in the custody of the governor-general, pending Mr. Perry's receipt of instructions from Mr. Ward.

On the 11th, the Spanish vice-consul at Canton called upon the Commissioners, for the purpose of stating that he, together with the Spanish consul-general in China (resident at Macao), had disapproved of Mr. Vargas having continued to collect coolies on board American ships at Whampoa, after the issue of Laou's circular of November, forbidding the same; but that Mr. Vargas being protected by the United States' flag, they could not further interfere. The coolies on board the "Messenger" were all, he said, on Mr. Vargas' ac-

count ; and the consul-general had, further, disapproved of these men having been taken to Macao on the 6th instant, and had recommended Mr. Vargas to return them to Canton.

While making this avowal in the case of Mr. Vargas, the vice-consul also begged the Commissioners to favourably entertain an application made by Mr. Castro, another Spanish agent, to open an Emigration House at Canton, as that gentleman, he said, had ceased to collect coolies at Whampoa, from the moment that Laou's circular letter had been notified to him.

The vice-consul admitted that he had attested the contracts of the "Messenger's" coolies, which is necessary, it appears, to pass them into Cuba, but had done so, he said, because he had been positively assured that all these men had been examined and passed by mandarins, who had been sent by the governor-general to Whampoa for that special purpose.

On the 12th the following letter was received by the Commissioners, forwarded by the Oldenburgh consul :

M. Bidau to the Allied Commissioners.

(Translation.)

GENTLEMEN,

River of Canton, January 10, 1860.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, in conformity with the orders of his Excellency the Governor-general of Canton, I shall proceed to-morrow morning to Macao, whither I had despatched the thirty-one coolies, to send them by the very first opportunity before his Excellency the Governor-general.

These thirty-one coolies are the same who remained on board the "Fanny Kirchner," and who were allowed me to keep, without any restriction whatever, to dispose of them by the Chinese officers who were delegated by his Excellency, as they themselves told me, to examine them, and to take along with

them all those who did not wish and who refused to complete the contract which they had signed, so that they might be examined before his Excellency the Governor.

Always desirous to obey and to conform myself to the laws of the country wherein I live, I should be very sorry indeed if you would for a moment entertain the thought as if I had willingly and purposely transgressed in prosecuting my operations of recruiting labourers, which, as I am now informed, has been totally prohibited since the 23rd of November last. No such order has been communicated to me by anybody; and as I saw many other vessels continue the same operation, I could not suppose that, with such an order of his Excellency the Governor, all these ships would dare to receive emigrants, when their respective consuls should have opposed themselves to the illegal continuation of their operations.

I beg that you will be persuaded that it has not been by intention, but by mistake and utter ignorance of such prohibition, that I have myself followed up these operations. I have done everything I could do in my power to avoid all abuses which have come to my knowledge; and I have, at my own proper expenses, returned to their families all the individuals who had confessed to me that they had been kidnapped.

It has never been my intention to favour the infamous practices of some of the brokers; on the contrary (and I can bring proofs), I have never—or, at least, with the greatest scruples—admitted any emigrants whose free desire to follow as colonists has appeared in the least doubtful.

I trust that this sincere declaration of mine will excuse me with you, gentlemen, and will procure for me the consideration which every one is entitled to at your hands who is willing, according to the regulations now in force, to recruit colonists in Canton.

God protect, &c.

(Signed) R. BIDAU,
Agent for Messrs. Morales & Co.

But in reference to M. Bidau's remark that he was wholly ignorant of the prohibitions against the

Whampoa receiving-ships, it should be observed that **his own** letter to the Commissioners of the 20th of December, **applying for permission to open an Emigration House at Canton**, proves that this was not the case, as in the first sentence of that letter M. Bidau says : “ Conformément à la circulaire envoyée par son Excellence Laou, Gouverneur de Canton, le 23 Novembre dernier, à MM. les membres du Corps Consulaire, j’ai l’honneur de vous informer,” &c. However, with regard to the point immediately at issue, it appeared that the men taken from the “ Fanny Kirchner ” were in a fair way towards being sent up to Canton at last.

CHAPTER XX.

Depositions of kidnapped Coolies, and confessions of Kidnappers—The Coolies sent up to Canton—Result of examination.

THE Allied Commanders on the receipt of Laou's appeal for aid, being unable to give material assistance beyond the limits of the city, which they held in military occupation, felt that they could only afford him moral support; and in order to give publicity to the affair, and enlist the sympathy of all right-thinking people, they issued a circular to the consuls of every nation represented at Canton, enclosing translations of the statements of kidnapped men, illustrative of the extreme iniquity of these illegal proceedings, and urging on them the duty of taking steps to put an end to a traffic so disgraceful in itself, and calculated to bring on the foreign community the odium of the whole Chinese race, and endanger the position of all future residents in the country.

The Allied Commanders-in-Chief to the Consuls at Canton.

GENTLEMEN,

Canton, January 12, 1860.

WE have the honour to forward for your information and consideration copies of a communication and its inclosures from his Excellency Laou, the Governor-general of these provinces, to the Allied Commissioners, dated the 6th instant, requesting the Allied Commanders-in-Chief to advise him as to the measures best calculated to effect the suppression of the Whampoa coolie

trade, carried on, as this has lately been, under circumstances most injurious to the character and interests of the foreign community.

We also take the opportunity of placing before you the depositions of one hundred and five men who have lately been brought away from certain coolie receiving-vessels at Whampoa, namely, the American ships "Messenger," "Pioneer," and "Governor Morton," and the Oldenburgh barque "Fanny Kirchner." You will read with pain the particulars therein given of the system of torture that has been pursued in order to wring from the victims of the trade a nominal consent to an eight years' engagement in the island of Cuba; and you will see that deception has been practised in order to induce them to believe that their shipment has received the sanction of their own authorities. Notice may also be taken of the assertion so frequently repeated in the deposition, that those coolies who have not yet been removed from the above-named ships remain on board against their will, and that their endeavours to make that unwillingness known are suppressed by the persons who have them in charge.

We doubt not that you will concur with us in thinking that it can be no sufficient defence of the system to say that this violence and deception is in most cases the act of the Chinese, and not of the foreigners engaged in the trade. The latter must long ere this have become acquainted both with the true character of the instruments they employ, and the abuses to which the payment of head-money must lead; and there is, moreover, evidence to show that the ill-treatment of which the coolies complain is not unfrequently inflicted on board the foreign vessels, and by foreign hands.

In case it should be thought that these depositions are not deserving of full reliance, we should inform you that each witness was examined separately, and out of the hearing of his companions; and it is not easy to see what object the majority of the witnesses could have in fabricating falsehoods after they had once regained their liberty. But, in case some of your body should wish to test for themselves the accuracy of these statements, or to obtain further information from the witnesses

themselves, we have sanctioned their temporary detention in Canton, in order that they may be brought before you if you desire it.

To the first-named letter from his Excellency Laou to the Commissioners we are now able to add another one, dated January the 9th, communicating the course adopted in the case of the "Fanny Kirchner," which his Excellency is desirous to show is uniform with that pursued towards the American receiving-ships. We here refrain from any description of the fatal occurrences of the night of the 4th instant, on board the last-named vessel, or of the recent transactions connected with the coolie cargo of the "Messenger;" but if, when engaged in the consideration of the subject, you should desire additional information, either as to the proceedings we have alluded to, or the general question of man-stealing, as it is now extensively carried on in these districts for the supply of the coolie trade, we may refer you to the Allied Commissioners, who have ample details in their possession.

Fully sensible, gentlemen, that the suggestion of those preventive measures which his Excellency Laou is so anxious to see instituted, appertains rather to your province than that of the Allied Commanders, we would wish to place the matter in your hands, and to beg you to concert among yourselves the measures best calculated to correct the abuses that have been brought to light. We may mention, however, that this is the second appeal which his Excellency has made to us on this subject; the first being simultaneous with the issue of his recent circular to the consular representatives, announcing to them the establishment of a system of free emigration, and requesting them to require their respective countrymen to conform to the rules upon which that system is based. It appears, however, that his Excellency's requisition has been only partially complied with; for, while several parties connected with the shipment of coolies at Whampoa desisted from their operations on being warned by the consular authorities of their illegal character, others, again, with little appreciation of his Excellency's liberal concession, and in direct opposition to his prohibitions, continued to collect coolies through the agency of the

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or vice most prevalent among them, and exists in every conceivable form, from the price of a friend's head to fights between crickets and quails.

No. 1. Ung-cheong-po, a Tartar (taken from an American ship), states :—About twelve days ago I was selling herbs in the streets of Canton ; it was in the south suburbs. A man (Chinese) came up and asked me to go to Honam, to fetch something to Canton ; got into a boat, and was taken to Chang-chow. I objected to go to that place, and was struck. I was placed on board a foreign ship, and asked if I would go to a foreign country ; I declined. The foreigner said I was to be taken back as I had refused to go. I was again put into the kidnapping boat, and beaten on my back with the flat of a sword ; I received four blows, and was told I must, when on board the foreign ship, say I was willing to go, or I should be killed. I said I would rather die than go. I was kept below on the foreign ship ; my dress was changed, and I was not allowed on deck. There were 189 coolies down in the place ; we had plenty of room, and plenty to eat ; all were unwilling to go, and had been kidnapped. Six days ago I was brought away from the foreign ship.

No. 2. Shun-a-yeung, a Tartar (taken from American ship), states :—About twenty days ago I was selling milk in the western suburb. Two men accosted me, and said they could sell me some better goods than mine, and at a very cheap rate ; this milk was on board a junk in the river. I went on board with them, and was ironed, and taken to a foreign vessel at Chang-chow, on board which ship I was asked if I was willing to emigrate. I refused, and was taken back to the Chinese boat ; was cruelly beaten with a thick board, receiving a hundred blows on all parts of my body, and told if I did not say I was willing the next time the foreigner asked, that I should be killed, and my body thrown into the water. I consented then, being afraid, and was taken to the foreign vessel again. Some time after this a foreign gentleman came on board, and asked me some questions. I explained who I was, and that I would not be a coolie. After this I was sent down below, and a

foreigner, of what country I am not aware, struck me with his fist for having refused. I saw it was no use resisting any longer. My clothes were changed, and I was kept below. My father, accompanied by a foreign gentleman, came for me. I am thirty-four years of age, and have a wife and two children.

No. 5. Hwang-leang states:—I am thirty-three years old; a Tsung-po-heang man from Hwang-ting-tsz in the Nan-hai district. In the Yin-yang-li street of Chen village, Hwang-ping-hwa opened a shop for the sale of tin ware: I worked in this shop, because there was no trade. On the 3rd of the month there came a Tung-kwan man, named Wu-chien-yiu, who had before been a fellow-workman of mine. He entered the shop and enticed me by saying there was work to be got at Shih-lung. He asked me to go with him, and I consented. So on the 4th of the month after breakfast I entered a ship with Wu-chien-yiu, and went to Canton, immediately going on to Whampoa. Chien-yiu said, "Let us go over to a hsia-kow ship and stay the night." I immediately went to this ship with him. The people on board asked us where we wanted to go; I replied, "I want to go to Shih-lung in Tung-kwan: the man replied that I had been sold to them as a coolie. I felt anything but comfortable when they threw me into the hold, and locked me there. On the 8th mandarin soldiers came and took me for examination.

No. 8. Yea-shen states:—I am thirty-four years old. I am from Le-shwuy-tsun, in Shen-ngan-tsz, of the Nan-hai district. A little time ago I was in the Kwan-yaou river, in Tung-a-ngan's grain-vessel, as a sailor. On the 6th day of this month of the present year, I, together with Tung-a-ngan, rowed the vessel to Canton to buy rice. The vessel anchored off the Shameen Fort. Early on the 7th I went on shore to walk in the Tung-te-ta street, where I met an old acquaintance named Ho-chêng. I told him that I should like to find employment in some other direction. Ho-chêng replied, "I advise you to go to Whampoa river to row the Chang-hsing boats." That very day I gave warning to my former master, and followed Ho-chêng to Hsien-yiu-lan, where we hired a small boat and went to Whampoa river, alongside of the hsia-kow-ting, and went on board the

hsia-kow boat to eat rice. Ho-chêng said to me, I am very poor, and will take and sell you to the foreigners (as a coolie) to work. I did not want to; so they took me and shut me up in the hold. On the 8th mandarin soldiers came and took me up for examination. I never committed any offence.

A true statement.

No. 10. Pun-ping-kong, a Chinese (taken from American ship), states:—I am a stone-cutter, and twenty-one years of age. I belong to a village called Yan-tong-tang (a little beyond Yung-tung). Twelve days ago I, with six others, was seized by robbers in number between twenty and thirty, armed with swords, pikes, &c. These robbers came at night. We were taken to Tung-poo, then divided into three parties. I went to Chang-chow, on board a boat the captain of which I was told was a Portuguese; it was a vessel with three masts. Before this I had been told that if I dared to refuse to go with the foreigners, I should be beaten, and then killed; so I thought it was no use, and assented. I was treated kindly on board the foreign vessel. I signed a contract, which stipulated I was to go to a place belonging to Spaniards; that I was to be fed and clothed, and receive four dollars a-month free. I signed because I was afraid to refuse. I was brought away three days ago.

No. 13. Li-a-mory (taken from American ship):—I am a butcher, and live at Hong-Kong. I am twenty-four years of age. My parents live at Wong-sha, not far from here; it is a pan-yu village. I left Hong-Kong about forty-one days ago to go and see my parents. I was well to do, had plenty of good clothes, and two dollars in my pocket. I embarked in a Chinese passage, arrived safely at Chang-chow, and getting into a small boat to go to my native village, was met by a gang of kidnappers, who seized me and my clothes. They took me back to Chang-chow, and told me I was going to be sold to the foreigners. I refused, and was beaten very severely with a ratan. I could not bear such cruel treatment, and consented to go with the foreigners. Arriving on board their ship I was kindly treated. I did not receive any money. I signed a paper, which I was unwilling to do. They beat me before I would do so. I was struck by a Chinese, and also kicked by

him. I did receive a peculiar kind of torture on board the Chinese boat to make me consent. I was tied up by the thumbs, with my feet just touching the deck, at the same time beaten with the ratan. The tying up by the thumbs is a very painful thing: they never did that on board the foreign vessel.

No. 14. How-a-kow (taken from American ship):—I am nineteen years of age, and live in the western suburb of Canton. About ten days ago I was going into the eastern suburbs, and was then met by three men, who demanded I should pay them some money they falsely stated I owed them. I cried out when they carried me off, and the three men kept calling out, "He owes me money, and we are trying to get it from him." I was carried to Tung-poo, and thence to Chang-chow. Arrived at this place, I was beaten by the flat of a sword, and also kicked, so that I consented to go. On board the ship I was asked by a foreigner if I would emigrate. I refused, and was handed over to the kidnappers again. They took me into the Chinese junk, tied a rope round my waist, let me down into the river, and then dragged me up a little way, asked me if I changed my mind. I could not stand the cold water, so I consented to go. After that I was kindly treated.

No. 18. Yung-yit-keu (taken from American ship):—I live on the river. Thirty-seven days ago four men came to my boat, and wanted me to convey some wood. I was sent to Chang-chow; my uncle was with me. I was taken from my own boat and put on board a junk, and asked if I was willing to go with the foreigners. I refused, and was tied up by my thumbs and toes, my body just touching the deck, but not enough to ease the torture of the cord. The punishment was more than I could endure, so I cried out that I was willing. I was conveyed to the foreign vessel, and asked if I was willing; I said I was not, and was sent back to the junk, where I was again suspended as before, but this time a little higher up, and buckets of water were poured over my head. I again said I was willing to go, because I could not stand the torture. I went with them to the foreign ship again, and then said I was willing, so they paid me

a dollar, and put me down below. I did not see any other person punished.

No. 22. Wong-a-fat (taken from American ship):—I am twenty-three years of age. I am a servant in a brothel. A friend, fourteen days ago, at Fatshan, asked me to go with him to Canton, where I could get a better office. It was too dark when we were on our way to see, and we went to Chang-chow. I was asked to go and be a coolie. On refusing, I was tied up by my thumbs, sticks were placed between each of my fingers, a piece of wood also was placed in my mouth. I said I was willing to go; they told the people in the foreign ship the same. When the mandarin came on board I was asked by him if I was willing to go, and said I was not. For this the foreigner took me down below, and beat me severely. I was also kept without any dinner on that day. In the China boat I was beaten by Chinese, dressed as such. I saw another man beaten; he is here among the coolies.

No. 35. Li-hsi deposes:—Am from the Hai-feong district, aged thirty-eight, a porter (coolie) by trade. On the 1st of the eighth month an acquaintance, Lio-a-shih by name, decoyed me to the city to enlist as a brave. After reaching Canton, he hired a boat on the 5th, and took me on the 7th to Chang-chow; he then took me on board a junk, where I remained two days, after which he took me on board a kidnapper's vessel; here I saw a man jump overboard, who was drowned. Afterwards I was seized and set at liberty.

A true statement.

No. 36. Huang-ah-hang, aged thirty-four, a charcoal-seller (taken from Oldenburgh ship):—Was taken to Chang-chow to get the money for a load of charcoal, and put on board a hsia-kou-ting, and told his destination; refusing to go, was tied by the thumbs and toes, ducked in the river, and beaten till he agreed to go on board a foreign vessel. Telling the foreigners he was there by compulsion, was sent back, put on board the hsia-kou-ting, and beaten till he again consented. Was taken on board a second foreign vessel, and again said he was there by compulsion; was taken back to the hsia-kou-ting, and beaten

again till he was afraid to say no, when asked whether he was willing to go or not, on board the third foreign vessel. Was treated well on board; always answering yes when he was asked whether he was there willingly or not.

No. 37. Lih-luh states:—I am fourteen years old, and belong to the village of Chin, in the Shun-tih district, and have lately lived in No. 10 ward of the western suburbs. On the 5th of the ninth moon I met a man whom I knew by the name of Ah-fuh. I do not know his surname. He asked me to go with him to Chur-pei, a village in the Pwanyu district, where he said there was going to be a theatrical performance. I, misled by him, was taken instead to Chang-chow to be sold to foreigners; but when the foreigners saw my tender age, they would not have me, but returned me to Ah-fuh, on board whose boat I remained till I was taken by the military, and brought here for examination.

No. 38. Wang-ah-ling, thirty-two, a costermonger (taken from Oldenburgh ship):—Was decoyed to Chang-chow by Kuant-sai-rh, of Sien-hua-ting Street, close by the yamun, seized, carried on board a ha-kou-ting, and ducked till he agreed to go on board the foreign vessel, where he was asked by a Chinaman, dressed as a foreigner, named Kua-ah-szu, whether he was willing to go or not; said yes, the broker having told him he would be murdered if he refused. Forty dollars was given for him, which was paid to Kua-ah-szu by a foreigner, when he consented to go, and Kua-ah-szu left with the broker. Was told by a foreigner the morning he was rescued, that a mandarin was coming to examine him, and promised two dollars if he said he was willing to remain, and threatened with death if he said the contrary.

No. 41. Tsung-jung states:—I belong to the Pwanyu district, and am twenty-nine years old, and am owner of the Hih-ho mat-shop by the east gate. On the 6th of the present moon I met Soo-shih and Chin-ah-urh, who deceived me by saying that a mat-shade was wanted for a floating bridge at Urh-sha-wei, and I, misled by their talk, desired the job, and went with them on the 6th to Urh-sha-wei, where we fell in with four men in a

boat, who accused me of stealing fruit belonging to them, and pulled me into the boat, saying they were going to give me in charge to the constable. I little thought they were going to take me to Chang-chow; first putting me into a scrambling crab-boat, and afterwards into a tanka boat. In the tanka boat I found a man who had been before brought off, named Yeh-shing. We were afterwards joined by Ho-ching, who pulled the boat, and who told me openly that he had paid several dollars for me, and that I must now go to a foreign country to work. Soon after Yeh-shing and myself were taken in charge by the soldiers who were sent on the business, and were brought by them here.

This is true.

No. 50. Tche-a-low (taken from American ship):—I am twenty years of age, and married. I am a sailor. I was kidnapped at Woo-ching by a man who persuaded me to go to a vessel to get good employment. Arrived at Chang-chow, I was told I was to be a coolie with foreigners. I refused, and was tied up. This was on board the ha-kou-ting. My hands were tied together. I was told it would be well to spare myself the pain of punishment, as even death would be my fate if I persisted in refusing: I assented, and was taken on board a foreign vessel. In reply to the question of the foreigner, I informed him I was very unwilling to go, but still more unwilling to endure punishment, and rather than that, under compulsion, I must go. I was received, and was paid a dollar, and was engaged to a Spanish colony for eight years. I was kindly treated on board. Some were punished for making a disturbance. We were visited by mandarins at different times, and always before their visits the foreigner told us we should be killed if we dared to say we were there against our wills. One China mandarin lived on board; he told us we had better confess we were willing, or we certainly should be killed.

No. 64. Wang-a-moay (taken from Oldenburgh ship):—I am thirty years of age. I am married, and am a sailor. I live at Soo-sung. I was at work in my house, and was decoyed away on some pretences, until I was put on board a ship. It was a ha-kou-ting at Chang-chow. I was told I was to go and be a coolie. I refused. I was tied up and beaten with a stick. I

was then sent into a foreign ship, and asked if I was willing. I refused again, and was sent back to the ha-kou-ting. This time I was again beaten, and my feet tortured; a lighted joss-stick was applied to my ankle (shows mark of a bad burn) until I could bear the pain no longer; so I went on board the foreign ship again. Fifty-eight coolies were left on board the ship: some were willing, but all were not asked.

No. 71. Lum-a-kun, twenty-one years of age, hawker of eatables (taken from American ship):—Lives in the western suburbs. On the 17th ultimo a friend of his said that he knew of a passage-boat having come from Hwui-chow, on board of which were some salt vegetables for sale; that they were very cheap, and that if he wished to purchase some, he would go with him, and point out the vessel. Deponent consented, and as they were getting into a boat at the wharf a third party joined them. He then became somewhat suspicious, and seeing that the boat in which he was, was not going in the direction of the passage-boats, he wanted to go back, but the two others forced him down into the bottom of the boat. He was taken to Whampoa, put on board a broker's boat, where he spent the night, and was next day taken on board a foreign vessel, but was sent back when he said that he was unwilling to go abroad. After this the coolie broker had him beaten and ducked in the river, and he was then taken on board another foreign vessel, where being brought before a mandarin, and asked if he would, he consented through fear; and a Portuguese who could speak Chinese forced him to impress his finger dipped in ink upon a written paper, which he said was his "Agreement," but the terms of which were not read out to him. He was treated well on board.

This shows the value of the contract signed by the coolie, and countersigned by the consul on faith of the charterer, as explained by the Spanish vice-consul himself.

No. 91. Ngai-a-mun, aged thirty (taken from Oldenburgh ship):—Dealer in salt fish; he belongs to Tsang-ching district.

On the 27th of December three men seized hold of him, robbed him of six thousand cash he was carrying, dragged him down to the river, and put him into a small boat. They proceeded to Chang-chow, took him on board a hakow-boat, and asked him whether he was willing to go abroad. He said no. They struck him over the head and back with the back of a knife. They again asked him; he again refused. They ducked him, having first made fast his hands behind his back. After the third immersion he consented. He was at once taken on board a foreign ship, in his wet clothes; he there saw a Portuguese, who asked him whether he was willing to go; he replied, yes. The Portuguese asked him how his clothes became so wet. He said the people on board the hakow had beaten and ducked him. He was six days on board, and well treated the whole time.

No. 59. Koon-a-choy (taken from Oldenburgh ship):—I am thirty-seven years of age; have a wife and two children. I live at We-loo-shi. I left home eighteen days ago. I was carrying charcoal, and met six men in the western suburbs, who told me they had better work for me, and I was to accompany them to the water-side. I went to the allied landing-place, and when near the water a gag was placed in my mouth, and I was dragged into a boat and taken to Chang-chow, where I was placed on a ha-kou-ting. I was asked if I would go to Spain as a coolie; I said I was the only support to my wife and children, and that it was impossible I could leave them; I was told I must do so, and I said I would rather be killed. The kidnappers and a lot of Chinese tied my body down to my legs; placed me sitting on my hands; tied my hands underneath, passed in under and behind my legs; then forced in a bamboo, and two men stamped upon me until the pain was killing me. I yielded, and was taken to the foreign vessel, where I was well treated and paid a dollar. I was not visited by any mandarins until the two magistrates came for me. About sixty coolies were left on board the vessel, who seemed willing to go.

I may almost say that I caught a kidnapper once myself; for walking through the southern suburbs one day about this time, I heard a great noise and lamenta-

tion in a by-street. I went to the place, and found a man dragging along by main force a lad of about sixteen years of age. The crowd gazed on the scene with stupid apathy. Of course, I could not tell what was being said, so I took both by the pigtails, and led them up to the south gate for an investigation. They were afterwards brought before the Commissioners, and the man told his story as follows:—He had been engaged to marry the boy's sister, but she had jilted him, and was now betrothed to another. The idea occurred to him of capturing her brother, and keeping him as a hostage until the fulfilment of her promise. I think the poor boy would have had a chance of finding his way to the barracoons.

No. 95. Hwo-a-yeu (taken from American ship), states:—I am forty-four years of age, and a native of Nan-hsing-tsun, in Kai-ping district. I gain my living by agriculture, but, the harvests being all finished, I was out of employment. A friend that I met asked me to come to the city, where I could get employment. Assenting, he hired a boat and took me to Chang-chow, where we went aboard a hsia-kow boat. Perceiving it to be a coolie-ship, I wished to get back, but was seized and beaten so severely that I consented to answer in the affirmative any questions put to me on board a foreign ship; and I told the foreigners that I wished to emigrate. I lived on board four weeks. I was well treated, although, among the two hundred coolies on board, some were beaten every day on account of expression of unwillingness to go abroad. I was taken away by Chinese officers. The coolies who consented to remain gave their consent through fear: I don't think a single one wishes, in his heart, to go.

Such was the substance of the statements of all the men examined. Comparatively few complained of violence offered by foreigners, and it does not appear to have been usual to maltreat them on first being brought

to the ship, if they refused to remain; but the foreign agents appear to have generally sent them back for a further consideration of the advantage of emigration. I wish I could feel that they were ignorant of the course of persuasion adopted.

Let us now see what the kidnappers have to say for themselves:—

Chin-ah-sew, alias Chin-ah-seu, states:—I am forty-four years of age, and belong to the Sin-ning district. On the 1st of the 8th moon of the present year, I connived with Seu-ah-hing to kidnap a man named A-che (I do not know what his family name was), and with Seu-ah-hing took him to Macao, and sold him there for twenty dollars, of which Seu-ah-hing gave me six dollars for my share. Again, on the 7th of the same moon, there came to my boat a Sin-ning man named Hwang-ah-neu, who had kidnapped a man named Tseen-ah-tee. Him Seu-ah-hing and myself took to Macao, and sold there for thirty dollars, which we three, Seu-ah-hing, Hwang-ah-neu, and myself shared equally. On the 17th of the 8th moon I returned to Sin-ning, and with a man belonging to the village of Pwan, came to Canton, and on the 20th went on board a hakow-boat. On the 21st, with Seu-ah-hing, I took this man to Macao and sold him for thirty dollars, of which I gave Seu-ah-hing ten dollars. On the 17th of the 9th moon, having spent this, a man named Seu-ah-lung with a man called Suh-ah-hseen, whom he had kidnapped, Seu-ah-hing and myself took to Macao. We sold the man for twenty dollars, of which I got six dollars, Seu-ah-hing six dollars, and Seu-ah-lung ten dollars. On my former examination I confessed to two cases of kidnapping and selling men; now that I have confessed to four fresh ones, there are six in which I have been engaged. I have never been brought up for any other offence.

This is a true statement.

Liang-tai-yeo deposes:—On the night of the 29th of the 9th month I was at Macao, and succeeded in decoying an acquaintance named Lia-hsien. On the 2nd of the 10th month I hired a fish-dealer's boat, and accompanied him to Chang-chow, to

sell on board the vessel belonging to the coolie-broker named Tai-a-shen. I received six dollars for the man.

Furthermore, on the 12th of the 9th month, I was at Macao, in Hsiang-shan, and decoyed an acquaintance named Hwang-a-kwei, whom I took on board a pedlar's boat from Macao to Chang-chow, and sold, as before, to Tai-a-shen for sixteen dollars.

At another time, on the 4th of the 10th month, I decoyed, at Hong-Kong, an acquaintance named Li-a-chio, whom I took in a fish-dealer's boat and sold, as before, at Chang-chow, to Tai-a-shen, the coolie-broker, for the sum of twelve dollars.

On the morning of the 8th I was suddenly seized by a guard of soldiers, and carried up for examination.

I confess to the kidnapping of the three men at three different times. The money received for them I have spent. Besides this case, I have never been apprehended for the commission of crime. I have no knowledge of other matters (of the same kind), nor have ever been implicated with others in cases of forcible detention.

A true statement.

Li-che states:—I am thirty-one years of age, and belong to Kin-hia village, by the Bogue, in Tung-kwan district. My father, Suy-ke, is 66 years of age; my mother, Wan-she, is 56. Of six brothers I am the second. The eldest is named Ah-tung; the third, A-ping; the fourth, A-shi; the fifth, A-hai. My wife, A-see, has borne to me a son and a daughter. I am a discharged brave; and no man having hired me, on the 17th of the 9th month the man who is now in charge, Li-sze, of Chang-lo district, spoke openly to me, asking me to go with him in a scrambling crab-boat, and join him in managing the boat, with the purpose of catching and selling men for coolies. I readily consented, and went with him to Whampoa, and to Chang-chow, on the main river. On board the boat there were, besides three men, the cook, A-sze, A-luh, and A-kew, who were all employed on board. On the 4th of the present month we were engaged by Yeh-ah-urh, who came on board with a man he had kidnapped, named Li-ah-chuen, whom I and Li-sze took on board a fishing-boat, and sold for thirty dollars. Yeh-ah-urh

received twenty dollars. I and Li-sze each had five dollars. Again, on the 5th, we were engaged by a man named Chin-asz, who had with him a Hwei-chow man named Chin-a-san, to sell as a coolie. Him I and Li-sze took to the fishing-boat, and sold for thirty dollars. Chin-asz received twenty dollars; I and Li-sze each had five dollars. On the 6th there was Chin-a-kwei, who brought with him a Lung-mun man, to sell as a coolie, named Le-a-shing, came on board. I and Li-sze took him on board the fishing-boat, and sold him for sixteen dollars, and which Ching-ah-kwei, Li-sze, and myself divided equally. Again, on the 5th, Woo-leen-yew, a man from Tung-kwan district, brought Hwang-leang, who is now in your charge, with the intention of selling him as a coolie. I and Li-sze took him, on the 6th and on the 7th, on board the fishing-boat. The foreigners saw him, but were unwilling to buy him; so we took him back on board our boat, and shut him up below, when, unexpectedly, the mandarin soldiers came to arrest us all, and brought me and Li-sze up here. I have been engaged in selling men as coolies four times, in one of which the transaction was not completed. I have never been accused of any other crime.

This is a true statement.

Le-hsien-ting affirms:—On the 4th of the 10th month of the present year, in the district of Tung-kwan, I met a friend named Hwang-a-pau, and on the same day hired a boat and went to Whampoa, where I sold him on board a hsia-kow boat, whose name I do not know, and got twelve dollars, which I have spent. Again, on the 24th of the 8th month, in the same district of Tung-kwan, I kidnapped Cheng-a-ling, and sold him on board the same ship, and again got twelve dollars. I little thought that on the 8th the mandarin soldiers would come and seize me for examination. I have, indeed, kidnapped but two men, and have spent all the money I got. I have certainly kidnapped none besides, and have offended in no other way. I have no confederates.

A true statement.

Tang-kang deposes:—I am aged twenty-four; a labourer, from Ho-tien, in the Tung-kwan district. My father is dead:

my mother's family name is Hwang, her age seventy-two. I have no brothers, wife, nor children. On the 12th of the 9th month in the current year I went to the town of Tung-kwan, where I met a man named Li-a-hwa, who told me, while we were sitting down and chatting together, that he was out of employ. I replied that business was brisk at Chang-chow, and that work might be had; soon after which I accompanied Li-a-hwa to Chang-chow, where I sold him on board Hu-a-yeo's coolie vessel for twenty dollars. I had been acquainted with Hu-a-yeo since the 8th month.

Again, on the 2nd of the 10th month, I went into the town of Tung-kwan, and met an acquaintance named Chang-a-te in the Yen-pu Street, where he kept a stall. I enticed him by saying that gambling was a very lucrative business at Chang-chow, when he expressed his willingness to accompany me thither. I thereupon took Chang-a-te, hired a small boat, and went on board Yeh-a-sin's gambling-boat, at Chang-chow. Yeh-a-sin paid me ten dollars, and gave Chang-a-te himself ten dollars head-money, on the agreement that this money was to be gambled with. If Chang-a-te won, he was to pay Yeh-a-sin one hundred cash profit for every dollar; if he lost, he was to become a coolie. Chang-a-te consented to this, risked his money, and lost. He was then put in confinement by Yeh-a-sin, in order that he might be sold.

That evening I went on board Hu-a-yeo's boat to pass the night. In the morning of the 8th a guard of soldiers came to make a search and seize offenders. Yeh-a-sin and Chang-a-te escaped. I only was taken and brought up for examination.

Now, honoured by a trial, I declare that I have only twice been concerned in kidnapping coolies, and have never been accused of any other offence.

Keang-hung-ting affirms:—I had an old friend, whose surname I do not know. He is called Achen. He lived on board a hsia-kow boat at Whampoa, and bought coolies for the purpose of selling them for transportation. On the 1st of the 10th month of the present year I met an old friend in the street outside the Great South Gate (of Canton). His name is Ho-a-len, and it occurred to me that I would kidnap him. I told

him that I would recommend him on board the hsia-kow boat for work, where he would receive six dollars each month. Ho-a-leu readily consented, and I went with him outside the Wu-hsien Gate and hired a little boat to go to Whampoa. There I sold him to the aforesaid Achen, whose surname I do not know, on board the hsia-kow boat, getting six dollars. Inasmuch as Achen was a friend of mine, I stayed several days on board his ship. I never thought that on the 8th the mandarin soldiers would seize me and bring me up to examination (yet such was the case). I have kidnapped and sold a man but once, and but once got money.

A true statement.

Yü-chang deposes:—Am aged twenty-five; from Tieh-chiang, in the Po-lo district. My father is dead; my mother, whose family name is Chü, is aged fifty-two. I have two brothers, and am the second son. Am married; my wife's family name is Chü. I have no children. I was formerly a herbalist and practitioner in cutaneous diseases in Shih-lung, in the Tung-kwan district, in the Hsin-chieh Street. On the 26th of the 9th month it occurred to me to impose on an acquaintance in Shih-lung, named Chou-a-chi, with the statement that hands were wanted on board a sea-going vessel at Chang-chow, at four dollars per month. Chou-a-chi agreed to go, whereupon I took him to Chang-chow, and sold him for twenty dollars on board the vessel owned by a man named Yu-a-hsiang and another, named A-chêng, whose family name I do not know.

At another time, on the 1st of the 10th month, I used the same pretences at Shih-wan, to decoy a man named Hwang-a-sz, whom I took to Chang-chow to sell to Yü-a-hsiang and his accomplices. This time I sold the man for 15 dollars.

Yü-a-hsiang having no money in hand, I waited for my pay on board his vessel. Afterwards a man, already brought up for examination, named Liang-chi-têng, was decoyed on board by some one else, and, seeing that he was troubled with ulcers, I gave him medicines.

Suddenly, on the 8th, I was seized by a guard of soldiers, together with Liang-chi-têng, and brought up for trial. Yü-a-hsiang and the others escaped.

Being now honoured by an examination, I confess to having twice been guilty of kidnapping. With these exceptions, I have never been accused of crime.

Le-sun affirms:—I am thirty-eight years old, and am a native of Wang-nin-tun, in the district of Tung-wan. My parents are both dead, and I have no brothers, wife, or children. When at home I gain my living by agriculture. On the 12th of the 8th month of the present year, at a place called Ta-fan, in the district of Tung-kwan, I kidnapped a man named Fu-a-hsi, eighteen years of age, and went to Whampoa to hand him over to an acquaintance of mine, a coolie-broker named Tsung-a-yew, for transfer sale. Tsung-a-yew gave me eight dollars. Until the 2nd of the 10th month I kept the Lo-man-tsz mud-boat, which has been taken. The two men, Lun-chi and Wang-yuen, who have been taken, used to work the boat with me, and go to different places seeking for occupation. I little thought that on the 7th day, when the boat went to Whampoa, it would be captured by mandarin soldiers for the purpose of judicial examination (yet such was the case). Fu-a-hsi is the only person I ever sold.

This is a true statement. I ask for mercy.

Yen-a-tsai affirms:—On the 3rd of the 9th month of the present year, at Wan-shang, in the district of Sin-gan, I kidnapped a friend named Yu-a-sz. On the 6th I hired a fishing-boat and went with him to Whampoa, where I sold him on board ship to Tai-a-shen, the coolie-broker, and got twenty dollars, which I have spent. On the 3rd of the 10th month, in the same Wan-shang locality, I kidnapped a friend named Ho-a-yuen, taking him on the 5th to Whampoa, and selling him to the same Tai-a-shen, who gave eighteen dollars. I did not expect that early on the 8th mandarin soldiers would come and arrest me. I have, indeed, kidnapped but two people. I have spent all the money I received. Beyond these I certainly have kidnapped no one, and have in no otherwise offended. I have no confederates.

A true statement.

Lo-a-weh affirms:—On the 15th day of the 9th month, at a

place called She-tu, in the district of Tung-kwan, I kidnapped a friend named Chang-fu. On the 8th I took passage in a boat, and went to Whampoa to sell him on board a ship to a coolie-broker named Chen-fu. I got ten dollars. Again, on the 25th of the 9th month, in the village of Tang-hsia, in the district of Tung-kwan, I kidnapped a friend named Hwang-yung. On the 28th I took passage with him, and went to Whampoa, where I sold him on board a ship to Yang-a-shen. I got ten dollars. I little expected that mandarin soldiers would seize me and bring me up for examination (yet such was the case). Altogether I have but kidnapped and sold two men. I have spent all the money I obtained. Beyond this I have committed no other offence.

A true statement.

Thus it was all the same with them, friends or acquaintances, they sold them as readily as strangers. It would seem that they thought to atone for their crime by a repayment of the money, so generally do they assert that it has all been spent. But as Laou said on the occasion: "Little did they know that Heaven would not endure them; that it is difficult to escape from the meshes of the law, and that in the space of a moment their heads would be severed from their bodies;" and yet, as some of them ingenuously observed of their unexpected capture, "yet, nevertheless, such was the case."

I think now that, having brought matters to this point, I may make a short story of a long one. The screw being applied to the masters and charterers of the ships which had sent away their coolies, by the detention of their clearance, a strong effort was made by all parties to get the affair settled. Mr. Ward supported the Governor-General, and directed Mr. Perry to afford him all the assistance in his power. The governor of Macao also aided in getting the men in question sent

up to Canton. It was decided that a public examination should be held, after which, all who desired to emigrate should be allowed to do so, on signing a fresh contract, of the provisions of which they should at the time be made well aware; the former contracts being considered invalid, in consequence of the illegality of the entire proceedings under which they were entered upon. The result of the examination was, that of the entire number, two only declared themselves willing to go abroad—one of them being of the number taken from an American ship, and the other from the “Oldenburgh.” One was a boy, apparently of weak intellect, and the other, a poor, friendless wretch, who said he was so badly off at home that he could not be worse elsewhere. They were offered to the agents; but notwithstanding the trouble they had been put to for them, they declined to have them. The abstract of the men delivered during the time spoken of in the foregoing narrative stands thus :—

Brought up from Whampoa by Chinese officers,	
31st December, from American ship	6
Do. from “Oldenburgh”	2
Do. do. 3rd January	47
Do. American do.	51
Do. by Mr. Perry, 9th January	95
Escaped at Macao	26
Given over to Chinese authorities at Macao . .	23
Do. to friends, being under 18 years of age .	1
Do. do.	1
Brought up from Macao, originally ex “Olden-	
burgh” ship	30
Do. do. American	432

 714

of whom only 2 were willing emigrants.

Comment here is unnecessary. Should not one blush when one thinks of the Christians among the heathen? When will the love of gain cease to beget fraud, and when will commerce, Christianity, and integrity, go hand in hand, bringing the whole world towards a perfect state of Christian civilization?

CHAPTER XXI.

Lawful Emigration, and its results.

IN order to complete the subject, I must turn now to the legitimate emigration, and the houses established in Canton for the furtherance of that object. I have already said that the British house was established on the 10th November, 1859. The rules and regulations speak for themselves. A French house soon followed, and later, Spanish houses, all under the supervision of the Allied Commissioners, and under rules and contracts approved by the Allied Commanders, whose assistance the Governor-General was enabled to secure by this limitation of the locale of these establishments to Canton. The following were the

Rules under which Houses for the reception of Chinese Emigrants to Foreign Countries were allowed to be opened within the limits of the Allied Jurisdiction at Canton.

1. The applicant for permission to open an emigration house to furnish the Commissioners with written particulars as to his name, nation, and the extent and character of his intended operations. If unauthorized by any government to conduct emigration, he must produce the approval of his consul for doing so.

2. The applicant will also furnish copies to all the Commissioners of all rules, of whatever description, under which he proposes to conduct the emigration, or to regulate the business

of the emigration house, as well as of all conditions or terms under which he proposes to engage the emigrants. All such rules must receive the approval of the Commissioners before they can be carried into effect; and any new regulation or alteration in the old rules that the person conducting the emigration may at any time think it necessary to adopt, must in the same way be first submitted to and approved by the commissioners before being enforced or acted on.

3. Copies of all the said rules and regulations, when so approved, as well as of all the conditions or terms under which emigrants are to be engaged, are to be posted up in such manner that they can be easily seen and read at all the entrances to the emigration house, as well as in the quarters occupied by the emigrants.

4. The emigration house will be inspected at any time that the Allied Commissioners may choose to appoint, by officers of the allied police, who will be authorized to muster and speak with the emigrants, and to put any inquiries they may see fit, in order to obtain the fullest particulars as to the manner in which the establishment is conducted and the emigrants are engaged. They will inspect the quarters of the emigrants, and see that careful attention is paid to their health, comfort, and cleanliness. They will also examine the books of the establishment, with a view to ascertaining that a careful registration is kept of all the emigrants engaged under these regulations.

5. In the event of the houses or dépôts for emigrants taking in both sexes, the accommodation for females or families is to be separate from that provided for single male emigrants, and to be so arranged as to insure decency, and such privacy as they may reasonably claim.

6. The door of the emigration house will be opened at sunrise, and closed again at sunset; and free egress and ingress, without any let or hindrance whatever, will be allowed to all the emigrants residing in the emigration house, within certain hours on each day to be approved by the Commissioners.

7. The person in charge of the emigration house is to employ such number of servants or watchmen as may from time to time be found necessary to maintain order during day and night

throughout his premises ; and every person employed in the emigration house, whether foreign or Chinese, is to be registered at the Commissioners' yamun in the manner appointed by the Commissioners.

8. In the event of any difference or dispute between the person conducting the emigration and the emigrant, the latter will always have a right of appeal to the Allied Commissioners ; and any complaint or claim that the person conducting the emigration may have to make against an emigrant may be adjudicated by the Allied Commissioners, unless the emigrant be satisfied with the decision of the Chinese officer superintending the emigration.

9. No corporal punishment can be inflicted within the emigration house ; and in the event of any emigrant committing a punishable offence, the offender may be arrested, but must at once be forwarded to the Allied Commissioners, with a statement of the case ; and the Allied Commissioners, if they see fit, will hand him over to the Chinese authorities for punishment.

10. No emigrant can be embarked without forty-eight hours' notice of the same being given in writing to the Allied Commissioners, who, if they see fit, will appoint officers of the allied police to be present at the embarkation and the departure of the vessel ; and the number and names of the emigrants she takes to sea must be reported by the person conducting the emigration to the Allied Commissioners.

11. The Allied Commanders reserve to themselves the right to close these establishments, or any one of them, whenever they may consider it advisable to do so, and without explanation.

12. It is in the power of the Allied Commissioners, acting with the approval of the Allied Commanders, to establish from time to time such further rules as may be judged necessary for the proper regulation of the emigration and the well-being of the emigrants.

13. The infraction of any of the above or other rules that may be established in the manner aforesaid, to be punishable either by fine levied on the person conducting the emigration, or by closing the emigration house upon the order of the Allied Commanders.

Seven Additional Regulations respecting Emigrant Dépôts at Canton.

Canton, January 26, 1860.

In virtue of the 12th Article of the Rules and Regulations for Emigration Houses in Canton, dated 4th November, 1859, the following additional rules have been established, and have received the sanction of the Allied Commissioners :—

1. The emigration houses will be visited daily by the two allied inspecting officers appointed by the Allied Commanders in conjunction with the Chinese officers appointed by the Chinese authorities.

The emigration agent will produce, at each visit, such applicants for emigration as may have presented themselves before these officers, who will note, in their own registers, the name, age, and sex of each applicant, with such other particulars as they may deem necessary. They will also see that each emigrant is provided with a copy of the contract under which it is proposed to engage him, which must be read over to him in their presence; and they will see that all information which may be required is fully afforded to each applicant.

2. In the event of any emigration agent having to complain of improper conduct, or of any offence on the part of the inmates of his house, he is at liberty to keep the offender in confinement until visited by the inspecting officers, who will direct him as to the course to be pursued. But punishment can only be carried out in the dépôt when the Allied Commissioners see fit to sanction the same.

3. No emigrant shall be called upon to sign his contract until four days shall have elapsed since the date of his registration by the inspecting officers.

But should he require additional time for consideration or communicating with his friends, he will be at liberty to delay the completion of his contract until ten days from the date of the above registration.

4. The contract will be signed in each establishment on days

to be named by the inspecting officers, and in their presence, which day should be notified by the emigration agent to the consul of the nation to which he belongs.

Each emigrant, as he is brought up, will be asked by the inspecting officers if he accepts the terms of his contract, and whether he is willing to sign. No contract can be signed at any time by the emigrant, except with his full consent.

The advances stipulated for in the contract shall be paid the emigrant at the time he signs his contract; and he will not then be allowed to quit the *depôt* except with the special consent of the agent who engages him, and who will be at liberty to cause him to embark on the same day.

5. No money but that paid as in advance on account of future wages is to be offered or given to any applicant for emigration, except in the case of the emigration of families, when a gratuity can be paid, with a view of covering expenses entailed on the removal of the family from their residence, and for the provision of such extras as may be required by them during the voyage.

6. After the contracts have been duly signed, the emigration agent will receive from the emigration officers a list specifying the number and names of the emigrants engaged, with the authority necessary for their embarkation. A duplicate of this list will be forwarded by the officers to the governor-general for transmission to the superintendent of customs, who is charged by the governor-general to see that no other emigrants than those engaged under these regulations are shipped on board foreign vessels in this port.

7. Should any demand be made by the allied and Chinese authorities for the surrender of any emigrant, founded upon any complaint or charge that they may conjointly deem it necessary to entertain, the emigration agent is liable to be called upon to surrender any emigrant he may have in his *depôt*, or on board his ship: provided in the latter case that the demand be made through the consul or consuls of the nations to which the emigration agent and the emigrant vessel belong.

In the event of any emigrant who is thus removed not being

returned to the emigration agent, the allied and Chinese authorities will see that the latter is repaid any advance of wages that may have been received by the emigrant.

(Signed) H. MARTINEAU DES CHENEZ,
HARRY S. PARKES,
A. A C. FISHER,
Allied Commissioners.

The following is the notice put forth by Mr. Austin at the commencement of his career at Canton :—

Public Notice.

By Austin, Special Agent of the British Government for the Regulating and Encouragement of Emigration from China to the British West Indies.

We have hitherto seen that the want of labour in various foreign colonies has brought foreigners to China to engage labourers, while the difficulty often experienced by Chinese in obtaining subsistence in their own densely-populated land has induced many of them to go abroad to seek a livelihood. But it has been found that the absence of all regulation on the subject has prevented check and precluded inquiry, and thus a door has been opened to the villany of designing men, who, using the name of emigration to give a character to their proceedings, have, in reality, sought only to serve their own avaricious views by kidnapping their fellow-men. The British Government hold such persons in the deepest abhorrence, and earnestly try for their entire suppression.

The British West Indian territories are of great extent, and contain an abundance of fine lands. The planters (who have large estates, and are men of considerable wealth) have hitherto obtained supplies of labour from Bengal and Madras, in British India ; and as the latter is not far removed from China, and the Chinese have long since evinced a disposition to go abroad (as is seen at the British settlements of Singapore and Malacca, and

other places, where thousands of them are already located), it was natural that the West Indian planters should also come to China to obtain labour.

By the engagement of labour the poor and the rich should be alike advantaged—the rich by the services of the poor, and the poor by the money of the rich; and much it is to be deplored that an emigration which should have been attended with this result has, of late years, in consequence of the prevalence of kidnapping, been productive of most serious evils. Nor does it appear that these can be avoided, unless the emigration is conducted under proper regulations.

The British Government cannot endure that the ignorant classes of the Chinese should become the victims of base deception; and they have therefore determined to conduct the emigration to their colonies by means of special officers, who can consult the interests of all parties, instead of allowing private people to engage in it who may be careful only of their own personal benefit.

The undersigned, having now been appointed by his government to set on foot an emigration from Kwang-tung to the British West Indies, has determined upon conducting this at Canton under certain regulations (five in number) which have received the sanction of the Allied Commissioners and his Excellency the Governor of the province. The Kinlung pack-house, in the Te-lung-le Street, in the western suburb, has been engaged by him as an emigration house for the reception of emigrants in conformity with these regulations; and it now remains for him to make known to the people full particulars of the conditions under which he is prepared to engage labourers, and which are contained in the following articles:—

1. There is no slavery wherever the British flag flies: the law in all British possessions is the same for rich and poor: and all religions are tolerated and protected. The British Government have also appointed special magistrates in the West Indian colonies to look after and protect the strangers who go there to seek employment.

2. The climate of the British West Indian colonies is very similar to that of southern China. The cultivation is chiefly

that of the sugar-cane ; but rice, cotton, and coffee are also grown there, together with most of the fruits and vegetables produced in China.

3. The emigrant to the British West Indies will be engaged under contract, to serve there for a term of five years, to date from his arrival in the colonies. Should he require it, an advance of wages to the extent of twenty dollars will be made him, to be repaid by gradual deductions from his wages after arrival at his destination. He will be provided with a free passage, the cost of which may be estimated at seventy-five dollars. Clothing for the voyage, and, of course, food, will be supplied gratuitously ; and it should be known that the feeding of the emigrants on their passage is regulated by a special law. The length of the voyage may be estimated as under one hundred days.

4. As the emigrants themselves have no knowledge of the price of labour in the British West Indies, a fixed sum of four dollars per month is first offered them ; but if, on their arrival in the colony, they prefer to be paid by the day, in the same way as the non-contract labourers, they have only to signify their wishes to the magistrate, who will make the necessary alterations in their contract, and see that they are placed on the same footing as to remuneration. They will still, of course, have to serve the stipulated period of five years. Should it happen, however, that any labourer, having thus entered into a contract for five years, wishes to cancel it at the close of the first year, or at any other subsequent period of his service, either from a desire to return home or to accept elsewhere any other occupation, he is at liberty to do so on repayment of four-fifths of his passage-money if he has completed only one year's service, or a less sum, calculated at fifteen dollars for every year's service remaining to be fulfilled. In addition to the said wage of four dollars per month, food, house, garden-ground, and medical attendance will be provided. A day's labour consists of seven and a-half hours' work, and the labourer is at liberty to employ the remaining time in each day in whatever manner he may find profitable to himself. If, instead of taking the monthly wage of four dollars, he prefers the daily pay of the

non-contract labourers, he will then have to find his own food, but will still be entitled to house, garden-ground, and medical attendance free of charge.

5. Those emigrants who are unable to take their families with them, and wish to provide for their maintenance, may allot to them one or two dollars out of their monthly wages of four dollars, which allotment shall be paid monthly to them by the emigration agent at Canton; the remaining portion of the wage, namely, two or three dollars, as the case may be, being received by the labourer himself in the colony. On the other hand, those emigrants who wish to be accompanied by their families may take them with them free of charge, and a gift of twenty dollars to the wife and five dollars to each child shall, moreover, be made, to enable them to provide extra comforts for the passage. The women will be unfettered by any engagement whatsoever, being entirely free either to work or accept service, or to attend solely to their household duties, as their own wants and inclinations may determine. Families will in all cases live together, and provision will be made for the gratuitous education of the children.

6. In order that the emigrants may have the means of constant communication with their families or friends, their letters may at all times be forwarded free of expense, through the Government, from the colonies to Kwang-tung, and through the emigration agent from Kwang-tung to the colonies, by the usual bi-monthly mail steamers. Remittances of money may also be made in the same way.

Dated at Canton, the 5th day of November, 1859.

Rules established for British Emigration House.

1. ANY applicant for admission to the Emigration House to be fully informed by the resident agent, in presence of the mandarin, of the terms offered, the proposed destination, and rules of the house.
2. Full particulars as to the sex, name, age, place of birth, &c., must be recorded previous to admission.
3. Medical inspection must take place before admission.
4. Emigrants once registered must be taken to the bath-room,

to be there cleansed and clothed in the house dress. The old dress must be washed and put away in a special "old-clothes closet," with the emigrant's number, for re-delivery to him on final departure from the house.

5. No emigrant to leave the house or return thereto without notice to the door-keeper, who will keep a register of the hour of exit and return.

6. No emigrant to be absent more than eight or ten hours, without special leave from the resident agent, on pain of being proceeded against before the Commissioners as a deserter, or for theft of the home clothes.

7. Any emigrant desiring to quit the house, and be struck off the register, must intimate the same to the resident agent, and shall be allowed to depart with his own clothes, or re-delivery of those supplied for the use at the depôt. Should an emigrant have remained in the Emigration House more than seven days, and be then only induced to change his mind, he will be liable, if not giving satisfactory reasons for a change, to prosecution before the Commissioners for obtaining food, clothes, and lodging under false pretences.

8. Emigration House to be thoroughly cleansed twice a-day, each emigrant being responsible for the cleanliness of the room or space allotted to him, whilst such parts as may be considered public shall be cleansed by the emigrants generally in rotations fixed by the resident agent.

9. Unless by special permission to the contrary, the meals must be taken at the tables specially provided in the public portion of the house, and at such stated periods as the resident agent may direct.

10. The emigrants must all be washed and dressed at eight A.M., and must then assemble for morning inspection.

11. The diet of each emigrant shall be as follows:—One catty sound rice; four taels fresh pork, or four taels salt fish; tea and vegetables to the value of twenty cash; fire-wood and soap will also be supplied.

12. Except by special permission of the resident agent, no lights other than the public ones shall be used in the Emigration House after eight P.M.

13. For unruly conduct, or for any breach of the home regulations, the resident agent shall be at liberty to order an emigrant to close confinement for any time not exceeding six hours, a special register being kept of all such cases, and a report thereof sent to the Allied Commissioners.

14. The resident agent shall be at liberty to dismiss any emigrant summarily from the Emigration House, and strike his name off the register, the reasons influencing his conduct being entered in the register under the head of "Remarks." No dismissal, however, shall be carried into effect save by day.

The contract entered into between Mr. Austin and the emigrant will, I think, be considered highly liberal, particularly Article 5, which guarantees a minimum rate of pay of four dollars a month, with the option of working at the rates of other labourers, should it prove more advantageous to the emigrant :—

Form of Contract.

ARTICLES of agreement, made this day of ,
in the year of the Christian era , being the day
of the month of the year of the reign of Hien-
fung, according to the Chinese imperial calendar, between
 , native of China, of the one part, and John
Gardiner Austin, special agent of the British Government for
the regulating and encouragement of emigration from China to
the British West Indies, of the other part, as follows :—The said
 , in consideration of the covenants, agreements,
and stipulations hereinafter entered into by the said J. G. Austin,
doth hereby promise and agree to and with the said J. G. Austin,
his executors, administrators, and assigns, in manner and form
following, that is to say :—

1. That he, the said shall and will, so soon
as he shall be required by the said J. G. Austin, embark on
board the British ship , now lying at anchor
in and bound for the British colony
of , and remain on board the said ship hence-

forward until she proceeds to sea, and shall then proceed as a passenger on board the said ship, to aforesaid, for the purpose of carrying out the stipulations hereinafter contained on the part of the said .

2. That the said shall and will from time to time, and at all times during the term of five years, to be computed from the day of the date of the arrival of the said ship in the said colony of , well, faithfully, and diligently, and according to the best of his skill and ability, work and serve as an agricultural labourer, in the said colony of , according to the provisions hereinafter contained.

3. That the said shall and will work as such labourer as aforesaid for the space of seven hours and a half of each day during the aforesaid term of five years, on such estate as may be pointed out by the governor of the said colony of , with a reservation of not less than five days to be set apart during each year as holidays at the China new year by the said governor, and of every Sabbath-day. And in consideration of the agreement herein contained on the part of the said , the said J. G. Austin hereby promises and agrees to and with the said in manner following, that is to say:—

4. That the said J. G. Austin shall provide the said with a free passage to the said colony of , and shall supply him gratuitously with such food and clothing as may be necessary for the voyage.

5. That so long as the said shall continue and be employed as such agricultural labourer as aforesaid, and perform the agreements on his part hereinbefore contained, he the said J. G. Austin shall well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said , wages at the rate of four dollars per calendar month, and shall provide or cause to be provided for the said , during the same service, food, house, garden ground, and medical attendance, all free of expense to the said , provided always and it is hereby agreed that it shall be at the option of the said , at any time within twelve months

of his arrival in the said colony of _____, to elect to be paid for his services by the task, in the same way as all labourers not under special contract for service for terms of years in the said colony; and that in the event of the said _____ electing to be paid as last hereinbefore mentioned, then and in such case the said _____ shall not be entitled to receive food, but house, garden ground, and medical attendance shall still be furnished to him free of charge.

6. That the said J. G. Austin shall on demand of the said _____, so soon as he shall embark on board the said ship _____, for the purpose of carrying out the terms of this agreement, make an advance on account of wages to the said _____ to the extent of _____ dollars, shall pay or cause to be paid monthly to the assigns or nominees of the said _____ in China, one part of the wages to be earned by the said _____ in the said colony of _____, the first payment to be made on the day of the date of the embarkation of the said _____ on board the said ship _____: Provided always, and it is hereby agreed, that any sum so advanced to the said _____ as aforesaid, shall be stopped or deducted out of the wages to be earned by the said _____, at the rate of one dollar per month, and that any payments so made as aforesaid, monthly, to the assigns or nominees of the said _____ in China, shall be stopped or deducted in equal amounts monthly from the wages to be earned by the said _____.

7. That the said _____ shall be at liberty to determine this agreement at the expiration of the first or any subsequent year of its subsistence, upon payment of a sum of money equal to the cost of his passage from China to the said colony of _____, namely, seventy-five dollars, subject to a deduction of one-fifth of the said amount for and in respect of each year during which the said _____ shall have served as such agricultural labourer as aforesaid, under the terms of this agreement.

8. That the said J. G. Austin shall provide or cause to be

general; it is indifferent what sort of work it is, either in country or town.

3. The eight years for which I engage myself in the preceding Article shall be reckoned from the eighth day after my arrival at the said port of Martinique, if I arrive in good health, and in the event of my being ill on my arrival, and incapable of work, eight days after I have left the hospital or infirmary.

These eight consecutive years will be composed of ninety-six months, each month composed of twenty-six days of complete and effective labour. The wages will not be due until after twenty-six days of labour.

4. The hours during which I am to labour will depend on the nature of the work given me to perform, and the care which it is necessary to bestow on it, always according to myself each day the time for repose, and for dinner and breakfast, according to the custom already followed with European labourers in the said country.

5. Apart from the hours of repose, no one shall be able to make me work on Sundays but according to the established customs applied to Europeans.

6. I submit myself to the order and discipline which is observed in the establishment, workshop, farm, or dwelling-house to which I am appointed, on the condition, well understood, that all causes of complaint that I shall have are to be referred to the legal authorities.

7. I engage myself to submit, for each day's absence without legitimate reason, independently of the loss of salary for that day, to a fine of a second day's salary, under the title of interest for damage.

8. In case of illness exceeding eight days' duration, it is agreed that my salary shall be suspended, and that it shall not commence again until my recovery.

9. On Sundays and fêtes I may employ my time in working for myself in a plot of ground that shall be allotted me, and which I may cultivate if, at the same time, I am not engaged in domestic service; and in that case, because the labours are much lighter, I shall have no claim to these advantages, but I

shall be granted clothing and shoes over and above those promised to cultivators.

10. If it happens that my services shall no longer be needed, the present contract may be annulled, with my previous consent, and I shall be free to return to my country or go where I please; but in that case an indemnity shall be granted me, the amount of which shall be decided by the authorities of the country.

11. My wife and my eldest daughter shall be employed in the same establishment to which I shall be allotted, and shall gain, without prejudice to my own salary, a sum of two and a half piastres per month; and it shall be the same with my sons under fourteen years of age, after which age they shall gain the same sum as myself under all the conditions.

12. MM. Gastel, Malavois, and Assier shall have the right to endorse this present contract in favour of any one, always, at the same time, adhering to that which is contained in the said contract.

MM. Gastel, Malavois, and Assier hold themselves obliged on their part towards me :—

1. To pay me a salary of four piastres per month, in the currency of the colony, from the day on which the eight years of my engagement commences.

2. To furnish me each day with eight ounces of salt fish, or other healthy food, and two and a half pounds of roots and other nutritious provisions.

3. To have given me in the infirmary all the cares, remedies, and assistance of a doctor, as long as my sufferings or preservation require them.

4. To give me every year two complete suits of clothing, a flannel shirt, and a coverlid.

5. To furnish, gratis, my passage to Martinique and my nourishment on board.

6. To advance me the sum of eight piastres in silver or gold for the wants of the voyage I am about to undertake.

7. To furnish three suits of clothing, coverlid, and other necessities, the value of which is five piastres, which, with the eight piastres of the preceding article, make a sum of thirteen piastres,

which I engage to repay at Martinique to the order of MM. Gastel, Malavois, and Assier, by means of one piastre per month kept back from my salary by the person to whom this contract shall be transferred. It remains well understood that reimbursements are to be executed for no other reason whatever.

I acknowledge to have received in money and effects, in fulfilment of the above clause, the sum of thirteen piastres, which I engage to repay at Martinique, according to the form established in the preceding article.

In faith of which we will mutually accomplish all that is related in the document, of which we sign two copies of the same tenour, and having but one effect between us two.

Canton, 1860.

(Signed) P. DE GASTEL, MALAVOIS, ET ASSIER.

After the completion of all arrangements, Laou wound up his proclamation and prohibitions by the following notice, in which he limited the scene of operations to Canton—though he later saw fit to extend the same to Swatow, which had been a notorious kidnapping place :—

Proclamation.

LAOU, Governor-General of the Two Broad Provinces, &c., makes a further proclamation of strict prohibitions.

With reference to a set of lawless vagabonds in and about the provincial capital, who kidnapped and beguiled worthy people, and sold them as (if they were) pigs, to be clandestinely sent over the sea, and who were, indeed, deserving of the deepest detestation, I have already issued several proclamations directed against such malpractices, and stating clearly that any people who were willing to go abroad as labourers were at liberty to engage themselves at the emigration houses allowed to be established at the provincial capital, in which the fixed regulations were adhered to.; and I at the same time addressed the various consuls, requesting that they would not permit the chops anchored at Whampoa and other places on the river to receive Chinese people intended for labourers in foreign countries. But as it is

verily to be feared that there may still be inveterate offenders, reckless of the laws, who combine (with foreigners), and privately establish places and secret dens on shore for the purchase of (men as if they were) pigs, to be clandestinely sold and sent over the sea, so that these great evils may not yet have been put an entire end to, both native and foreign officials cannot but take the strictest steps to put a stop to them.


Wherefore, besides again addressing the various consuls on the subject, it is fitting that I should also publish strict prohibitions, and this proclamation is, therefore, addressed to people of every description throughout the province for their information. If (a person of) any nation wishes to engage labourers for (foreign service) in the Canton River, he must conduct his business in strict conformity with the regulations enacted by myself and the English and French Commanders-in-Chief, subject to which regulations he will be permitted to maintain an emigration house in the city of Canton, or in the eastern, western, or southern suburbs thereof, so long as he conducts his business aright, to the satisfaction of the inspecting officers. With this exception, neither Chinese nor foreigners will be permitted to establish at any place within this river dens for the clandestine collection of coolies. This, for the future, is a fixed rule; and any persons infringing it will not be excused, but will be visited with severe punishment.

All should implicitly obey. Oppose not.

A special edict.

(February 4, 1860.)

The mode of conducting the houses answered admirably. The fact that you could be lodged, clothed, and fed, whilst you were making up your mind whether to go abroad or not, and allowed to depart home free of charge, on coming to the conclusion that your own country was best, was reported far and wide. No system of advertisements could have had such results. The proportion of emigrants to inquirers was about at the rate of one to three.



At the conclusion of the season which terminated early in March, the following was the result :—

TABULAR RETURN of Chinese Emigrants despatched to Demerara from the British West Indian Emigration Offices in Hong Kong and Canton, by the undermentioned vessels.

VESSELS.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.
Whirlwind	302	56	9	4	1	372
Dora	208	115	37	20	11	391
Red Riding Hood . .	300	11	4	315
Minerva	233	65	8	2	2	310
Thomas Mitchell . .	253	253
Norwood	193	12	..	2	2	209
Total	1,489	259	58	28	16	1,850

A great result for the Demerara planters as well as for the poor Chinese ; but, above all, a great result as showing that by the support given to the native authorities by the Allied Commanders, the faith of the people in our integrity was strengthened, and the stigma which at one time bade fair to attach to the whole of the Christian society, was wiped off, and fixed on the few whose acts give the Chinese the full right to employ the term too generally applied to us, of “the outer barbarian.”

I may here, as I am about to leave the subject of Canton, remark on the very great good done by our protracted residence in that city, which came to a close in 1861. A great many of the Chinese people here got to know what the barbarians really were, from living actually with them. So just and firm was the rule of the Allies, so consistent were they in their policy, and so anxious to support the native authorities in all their righteous dealings, that the lesson cannot have been lost on a people so observant as the Chinese ; a lesson I

hope never to be forgotten, nor effaced from their minds by injustice of any kind. It must not be thought that the kidnapping was a crime caused by our presence at Canton, for it dated from a period far antecedent to our capture of the city, and before our occupation commenced. It was mainly carried on at Whampoa, to which place we had always had access. At Swatow the enormities committed were as great as at Whampoa; and at Macao were the barracoons to which the poor slaves were usually taken, previous to their final shipment. So great was the success of the emigration houses, that the unlawful traders were latterly offering ninety-five dollars a-piece for victims; and, failing to get a supply, were forced to succumb to the rules of Canton, from necessity, I fear, rather than from proper feeling. Much misery, no doubt, was caused at first in Canton by the turning out of thousands of peaceable inhabitants, and the destruction of a very great number of their dwellings. But will not the release of the 714 captives in the space of a month, and the emigration to British colonies alone, of 1,850 poor persons, besides all those taken by other nations, (removing them from a condition of poverty to comparative wealth,) weigh heavily in the balance, without taking into account the future benefits likely to accrue, from a more enlightened government—the growth of the seeds sown during our occupation of Canton?

CHAPTER XXII.

Departure for Shanghai—Ningpo—Hang-chow and the rebels—*Sœurs de Charité*—The Bishop of Ningpo—Chin-hae—Fishing cormorants—The Temple of Mercy—Chusan, and its mandarins—Its peaceful aspect—Poo-too—Kin-tang—Duck-shooting—Return to Shanghai—English and French missions.

IN February, 1860, I was despatched off to the North, in order to take advantage of any opportunity there might be of visiting the Pei-ho, and seeing if any changes had been made in the defences. Admiral Protêt of the French navy accompanied me on behalf of their force. On our way up, we encountered one of the thick fogs which are so prevalent on that part of the coast: we prudently anchored to await better times, when off Chusan; but on entering the Yangtze, we found a ship which had not been so fortunate, aground on the south bank. We sent a boat to offer assistance, but it was declined: however, a passenger who was on board, took advantage of the opportunity, and came to the "Nimrod" for a passage to Shanghai.

Arriving there, we found that the ultimatum, which we thought might perhaps be sent up to the Pei-ho by water, and so afford us an opportunity of visiting the place, was to be sent to Peking through the governor-general of the province; so we evidently had no chance of carrying out that idea. It was then decided that

we should visit Chusan, and see how the land lay in that direction, for it was contemplated to establish a dépôt for supplies of all kinds, together with a hospital establishment on that island, or some other of the same group.

It was also necessary to make inquiries relative to sundry acts of piracy committed in those waters, and which had much disturbed the native trade in Shanghae and the neighbourhood. They had, moreover, given rise to a system which, however well-conceived, was at all events doubtful in its results. A set of convoy vessels were got together and armed—failing government cruisers—and these were supposed to afford safe conduct to the traders on payment of certain fees. It was complained of by some that this amounted in fact to levying black mail, and it was even questioned whether it was not piracy in detail only, instead of being wholesale. This inquiry served us as a pretext for visiting the points of interest, as well as for an introduction to the mandarins.

In addition to obtaining information as to supplies and accommodation for troops, it was also desirable to find the feeling of the people as regarded the occupation of Chusan as well as the preparations (if any) which might have been made to prevent it.

As one branch of our report should, in connection with the military resources of Chusan itself, notice the points from which assistance might be sent to its garrison, our first step was to visit Ning-po, where we got interesting details from the consul respecting the state of the country in that neighbourhood. We found considerable excitement existing from the near approach of the rebels, who were at that time marching on Hangchow, the capital of the province. All available troops

were being sent off to aid the garrison, and we were told that between the 4th and 10th of March, fifteen hundred had been forwarded as a reinforcement, being almost the entire available force at Ning-po. We saw some in the act of embarking: they seemed fairly equipped; much of the clothing, as well as many of the matchlocks, appearing to have just been issued new from the stores. Recruiting was being urged on, but very slowly, from want of funds. It is singular to observe the different value put by the authorities on the people of different provinces; for the Cantonese were paid as much as sixteen dollars a month, whilst the local troops did not get more than half that sum. In Shanghae also the Cantonese swagger about the streets, and give themselves great airs as being far superior to the people of the place. They are generally considered a braver but somewhat lawless race. A story was current, and I dare say not without foundation, that on the news of the capture of Canton reaching Peking, the remark made by the Emperor was, "I wish them joy of their task: if they can govern the Cantonese, and keep them quiet, it is more than I could ever do."

It was evident that the native government had quite enough on its hands here, without sending any help to the garrison of Chusan, who, if they resisted us, would have only themselves to trust to.

Hang-chow was assaulted very shortly after the time of which I am writing; and amid much that was reported of the dreadful butchery on both sides, when neither age nor sex were taken into account in the indiscriminate slaughter, there was an incident in the assault amusing and instructive to the military.

The besiegers in the approaches took possession of an

extramural cemetery, which they occupied in force, and here they found stored up a vast collection of coffins, which I suppose contained the remains of persons whose relations, being of a fickle temperament, had not hitherto been able to ascertain a lucky spot for their interment. When they advanced to the assault, these coffins were carried up to the walls, and a staircase formed of them, by which the rebels marched into the city. They were, however, unable to effect a permanent lodgment, and after a time withdrew. It was not until December 1861, that they became masters of the place, after a fresh siege.

I was much indebted to Admiral Protêt for a visit to the French establishment of Sœurs de Charité, at Ning-po, which perhaps I should not otherwise have visited. It was very touching to see these ladies, and to witness their pleasure at meeting some one who could tell them of the friends they had left in the civilized world. Their coarse clothing contrasted strangely with their refined voices and delicate appearance; as did their outward circumstances with their appearance of cheerful happiness—happy they seemed in the recollection of their friends, and in hearing of the world they once lived in; yet still happier in speaking of the details of their peaceful life and its duties, to which they seemed to return with a sense of repose. It was indeed a life calculated to expand all the loving womanly feelings of the heart of each—the care and nurture of deserted children, as well as those whose parents gave them up voluntarily to be reared there, at the price of the adoption of the Christian religion.

We went all over the place, from the kitchen to the dormitories, and charmingly was everything arranged, and very pleased did the sisters seem at our approval

—and proud of their little world, for such it now was to them.

But though I use the word proud, how little can pride influence them there! so few visitors, so rare the occasions of display, surely they do great good purely for the sake of religion and their own souls. Self-sacrifice is often, I fear, ostentatious, but it certainly struck me that here was self-sacrifice of a very high order; and different as was my own path of life, I could really sympathize and feel with them in selecting this for themselves. We also paid a visit to the French bishop, in outward appearance a very respectable and well-bred mandarin. He, and his clergy, almost invariably dress and live like the natives, and so travel all over the country, visiting their convents in the most distant parts, passing among the heathen, who do not know them, as Chinese.

Ning-po is principally remarkable for the number of carvers in woodwork, who inhabit the town. It is the main trade of the place. The women about there are considered to be great beauties, and they certainly did appear, as a rule, much better looking than elsewhere. When I say that Ning-po is exceedingly dirty, I fear no one will venture to dispute the point. Ning-po was taken by the rebels some months ago, and was retaken by Captain Dew, R.N., and handed back again to the Chinese authorities last summer; the powers that were not getting on smoothly with our honourable nation, and thereby rendering necessary this deviation from the policy of neutrality.

Our next visit was to Chin-hae, at the mouth of the "Yang," or Ning-po River; a city taken by us in 1841. The distance from Ning-po is about twelve miles. The country surrounding the upper part is flat

and dull, but the lower, hilly and pretty. The banks of the river are remarkable for the number of ice-houses on either side ; raised thatched mounds. The winter here is mild, and ice is, therefore, not plentiful ; it is collected from shallow ponds made for the purpose. I believe the use made of it is to preserve fish. You see in this river the fisherman quietly sculling along his sampan, or boat, his only companion being a grim-looking cormorant, sitting motionless at the bows, and at a signal from his master, diving after a fish, which he swallows as far as he can ; but being fitted with a ring round his neck, he is unable to get much satisfaction beyond the fishy taste, and a stray scale or two.

The town of Chin-hae seemed remarkably poor, the goods in the shops appeared to consist almost entirely of either provisions or medicines. The defences had evidently not been touched for many years ; they were not actually much out of repair, but were to a great extent unarmed. Guns lay about the batteries unmounted, and what carriages there were, appeared quite rotten. From the dates attached to them, the guns had been cast in 1841 ; and those which were mounted, had been put in position about 1852. The nominal force quartered at Chin-hae is nine hundred men ; but there appeared to be no military organisation there whatever, not so much as a guard on the city gates. There is a fort on a high-pointed hill overlooking the town, and in it is a temple. The ascent is steep and rugged, up unequal steps, and up these stairs were toiling many women in slow procession, stopping and kneeling at every third step, at the same time striking their heads three times against the ground ; they were on their way to make offerings and prayers to the " God of

mercy," on behalf of their relations just departed for the seat of war at Hang-chow.

The same evening we moved on to Chusan, and anchored off Ting-hae. Our first care next day was to send a messenger to the magistrate, to announce our intention of calling on him on the morrow. We then walked about in the suburbs, and visited Joss-house Hill, on the eastern slope of which were buried the British troops who died there in the last war, and during the prolonged occupation of the island. We were pleased to find the graves and monuments generally in good order.

It looked at first sight a bad beginning for the establishment of a hospital or convalescent station, but it turned out really very healthy.

In the morning the chief magistrate, by name "Khan," forestalled us in civility, coming off to call on us at nine o'clock; and we returned his visit shortly after. He, as well as Euan, the military mandarin, showed us a marked civility, continually speaking of our countrymen as being their brothers, in fact, though called by a different name. They were pleased to hear that we were contemplating some additional security for trading vessels against the attacks of pirates, and desired our co-operation in any measures they might undertake for the purpose: they said, however, they had heard no complaints against the convoy system as it then existed.


Of course no allusion was made to the contemplated occupation. On our speaking of our gratification at seeing that the graves of our countrymen had been apparently so well cared for, one of them said, after alluding to our being brothers, "Ah, you found the island very unhealthy during your *first* occupation," as if the possi-

bility of another had passed across their minds. Indeed, we found when talking to the common people, that it was quite speculated on, and were told that many of the houses near the beach had been already let at high rates, to enterprising people.

On walking round the town we perceived the same want of military preparation as as Chin-hae. It was evident that no resistance at all effective could be offered to our landing and taking possession; but it was difficult to imagine what excuse the mandarins could give for quietly delivering up the whole place, consistent with the preservation of their heads. I think we ultimately did the best thing for them, by taking an overwhelming force, far superior to the possible contingencies of the case.

The information we were able to get as to the military organization of the island, was to the effect that the nominal force was three thousand two hundred men; but that they were so scattered over the island, and engaged in agricultural pursuits, that they had almost ceased to be soldiers, and it had been impossible that year to collect them for the annual muster and review.

We devoted two or three days to excursions about the town and neighbourhood, picking up such information as we could. The French missionary in charge of the college, which is about a mile and a half from the town of Ting-hae, proved a valuable ally: he told us much about the place. We found his establishment well situated, as it possessed excellent spring water. We subjected the water from every well we could meet with to analysis, and found that, generally, it was exceedingly impure, but that two of the springs in the neighbourhood were very good; and to these we sent,



I believe, almost invariably, for the drinking water required during the subsequent occupation.

There were a good many wild-fowl in the wet paddy fields, and I managed to get some by persuading a man, who was dredging mud out of a stream, to take me in his boat: some of the ducks were like those in England, others black, or black and white. There were also a good many teal and snipe.

We next visited Poo-too, a very pretty island belonging to the same group, almost entirely devoted to temples: there appeared to be hardly any residents but those connected with these establishments. Some of these buildings were very large, and we looked at them with a view to their capabilities for conversion into hospitals. The island is not, however, so easy of access as Chusan, and its own resources are not great: there is very good spring water, and that is about all that can be said of its natural advantages. The quantity of ground under cultivation does not produce nearly sufficient to support its own scanty population; but it is a sweetly pretty spot; and has in a small space a very fine collection of temples.

Kintang, another of the Chusan group, was next visited; but it displayed no advantages which were not equalled at Chusan. I had a successful stalk after some wild duck here. They were feeding in a most unapproachable place in the middle of a plain of inundated paddy-fields, and there was not the slightest cover to help me to approach them. However, in a distant field was a man harrowing with a great water-buffalo; I waded out to him and persuaded him to harrow towards the duck, whilst I walked under the lee of the buffalo. The beast could not make out why he should

work across country in this way, crossing straight from one bit of paddy to another without turning at the limits of each field as he had been taught to do. At last after showing evident fits of sulks, he obstinately refused to go further, and swerved round, exposing me to view : the ducks rose, and I hit one which B. afterwards got, but away went the buffalo tail in air, and dragging his harrow after him all over the country ; leaving the poor agriculturist in the middle of some one else's field, minus harrow, beast and all : the birds afterwards alighted in a more favourable place, and we got another, as well as a teal.

On the 19th we got back to Shanghae, and heard that Sir Hope Grant was expected shortly, therefore I remained to meet him. The main preparation for the campaign visible at Shanghae at this time, was the dépôt for ponies, which were brought here from Shantung and other places : they improved very much in condition. I believe those from Shantung were the best ; the Japanese were never good for much : we also had some from Manilla and from Java, besides the horses which our cavalry brought with them from India. Many of the officers had to content themselves with these baggage animals as chargers : I was very fortunate in getting a capital Shantung pony.

There was not a great deal for an idle man to do at Shanghae ; but we took long walks and visited all the places of interest in this most uninteresting neighbourhood. Mr. Antrobus gave us some sport with his beagles, for he had some Japanese roe-deer which he turned out ; and all the sporting world of Shanghae followed on foot. We had a capital run of six miles one day, and pulled down our deer in a cottage. We

had heavy country to cross, and some big ditches to jump: a good many of the field went home much wetter than was desirable.

One of the pleasantest lions of Shanghae is the French missionary school at Siccaway: it contained at that time about ninety boys; the best specimens of the rising generation that I ever saw in China—robust, healthy, and really jolly boys. They receive a good Chinese education; and we were told in confirmation of this, that two of them had lately passed creditably in the national public examinations. They also receive instruction in any useful arts for which they evince a talent. I was shown, amongst other things, some capital specimens of modelling in clay, the work of one of their number. The interior economy was all in excellent style; and the establishment reflects great credit on its managers.

It may, perhaps, be remarked that I say nothing of the Protestant mission in China: the fact is, I heard but little of our mission there, and saw less. We have no large establishment there as the French have: this is caused in a great measure by the number of different sects. Our missionaries' efforts appear to be detached and independent; and make but little outward show. I believe our native hospitals are more striking as evidence of our working among the people than are our churches.

Our great influence in China is gained by our trade. The French are not so successful as we are in mercantile enterprise: they have, however, acquired an influence by their energy in proselytism, which is with their Government a state policy. Observe what the Cantonese official says in his reported conversation with the emperor, as related in the third chapter: "The French

continue to give no trouble in Kwang-tung ; but it is said, that, with the exception of trade, what they most prize is the teaching of their doctrine."

I think it a great pity that our presence at Canton was not more utilized by the missionaries in that place. We ought of course to have found them out ; but if we did not, I think they would have done well to find us out, and endeavour to turn to good account the opportunity which will, perhaps, not again occur for years, of the presence of a large body of Protestant gentlemen within the city—a mutual advantage now lost to both.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Our ultimatum, and the answer we received—We sail for Chusan—Surrender of the island—Chusan fog—Barrack works—International etiquette—Roe-hunting—We prepare to leave the island.

THE following is a copy of the ultimatum, addressed by Mr. Bruce to the imperial government :—

Mr. Bruce to the Senior Secretary of State, Pang Wan-chang.

Shanghai, March 8, 1860.

THE undersigned, &c., has the honour to address a communication to his Excellency Pang Wan-chang, a senior secretary of state, and their excellencies the members of the great council of his Majesty the Emperor of China.

The undersigned has the honour to state, that, as in duty bound, he has laid before her Britannic Majesty's government a full narrative of all the circumstances attending his journey to the mouth of the Tien-tsin river last summer, for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the treaty of Tien-tsin, as required by the provisions of that treaty, on or before the 26th June, 1859.

Besides the whole of his correspondence with the imperial commissioners and other officers of the imperial government, the undersigned has transmitted to the government of her Britannic Majesty a copy of the imperial decree, dated the 9th August, and handed by the emperor's desire to the United States' minister, Mr. Ward, on the eve of his departure from Peking.

The decree begins as follows :—

“ Last year the ships of the English sailed into the port of Tien-tsin, and opened a fire on our troops. We accordingly

instructed Sang-ko-lin-sin, prince of the Khorchin tribe, to adopt the most stringent measures for the defence of Takoo ; and (the envoys of) the different nations coming up to exchange treaties on this occasion, were told by Kweiliang and Hwashana, at Shanghae, that Takoo was thus strictly guarded, and that they must go round by the port of Peh-tang. The Englishman Bruce, notwithstanding, when he came to Tien-tsin, in the fifth moon, did not abide by his original understanding with Kweiliang and his colleague, but actually forced his way into the port of Takoo, destroying our defensive apparatus."

The undersigned did not fail at once to apprise the government of her Britannic Majesty that the emperor had been singularly misled. Had it, indeed, been signified to him by the commissioners at Shanghae that his majesty had decided on closing to foreign envoys the natural and most convenient highway to his capital, such evidence of an unfriendly disposition on the part of the imperial government would certainly have been regarded by the undersigned as fit matter of remonstrance and negotiation.

No intimation of the kind, however, was conveyed to the undersigned in the letters of the imperial commissioners. The port of Peh-tang was never named by them, nor did the undersigned enter into any engagement with them, other than that contained in his letter of the 16th May, in which he acquainted his Excellency Kweiliang of the nature and object of his mission, and of his intention to proceed by ship to Tien-tsin, from which city he requested his excellency to give the necessary orders for his conveyance to Peking.


He begs to inclose copy of this letter, as also of that received from the imperial commissioner of the 12th June. These will prove that the undersigned was allowed to quit Shanghae in total ignorance of the emperor's objection to his employment of the usual river-route.

A like silence on the subject of the imperial prohibition was observed towards Admiral Hope, commander-in-chief of her Majesty's naval forces in these seas, when in furtherance of the objects made known to his Excellency Kweiliang in the letter above cited, he appeared on the 17th June at the mouth of the

river to announce the approach of the undersigned and his colleague, the minister of France. The admiral was assured that the passage had been closed by the so-called militia whom he found in charge of the booms obstructing it, without the orders of their government, none of whose officers, the militia repeatedly affirmed, were near the spot; also that it was closed, not against foreigners, but against a native enemy. These false representations were supported by false appearances: the batteries of the forts were masked; no banners were displayed; no soldier discovered himself. Still further to prevent verification of the statements of the militia, no communication was allowed with the shore. After promising to remove the obstacles at the river-mouth, the militia repudiated the promise. They conducted themselves with rudeness and violence to the officers who were sent to speak with them, in one instance proceeding so far as to threaten the life of a gentleman despatched with a message from the admiral.

Such was the state of things when the undersigned arrived outside the bar, on the 20th June. Finding that the officials persisted in keeping aloof, while the militia continued to assert that the obstruction of the river-way was their own unauthorized act, he called on the admiral to take such steps as would enable him to reach the capital by the time appointed. This, after due notice given to the militia, and after receiving from them an assurance, on the previous evening, that they should certainly have nothing further to communicate, the admiral was proceeding to effect, on the 25th June, the eighth day from his arrival, when the forts, which had been for these eight days to all appearances deserted, suddenly opened fire upon his squadron. Apparently to cover this treacherous conduct, the officers in charge of the forts have imposed another fiction on his imperial majesty, who has been led to believe that the British squadron assumed the offensive by bombarding the forts. This is utterly without foundation: no shot was fired until the batteries had opened; the ships having no other object in advancing but to remove the obstacles placed across the river without authority.

The facts of the case are simply those stated by the undersigned, and her Britannic Majesty's government, after mature



deliberation, have decided that whether the Emperor of China was cognizant of this act of hostility, or whether it was directed by his officers, it is an outrage for which the Chinese government must be held responsible. Her Britannic Majesty's government require, therefore, an immediate and unconditional acceptance of the following terms:—

1. That an ample and satisfactory apology be made for the act of the troops who fired on the ships of her Britannic Majesty from the forts of Takoo in June last, and that all guns and material, as well as the ships abandoned on that occasion, be restored.

2. That the ratifications of the treaty of Tien-tsin be exchanged without delay at Peking; that when the minister of her Britannic Majesty proceeds to Peking for that purpose, he be permitted to proceed up the river by Takoo to the city of Tien-tsin in a British vessel; and that provision be made by the Chinese authorities for the conveyance of himself and of his suite with due honour from that city to Peking.

3. That full effect be given to the provisions of the said treaties, including a satisfactory arrangement to be made for the prompt payment of the indemnity of four million taels, as stipulated in the treaty, for losses and military expenses entailed on the British government by the misconduct of the Canton authorities.

The undersigned is further directed to state that, in consequence of the attempt made to obstruct the passage of the undersigned to Peking, the understanding entered into between the Earl of Elgin and the imperial commissioners in October, 1858, with respect to the residence of the British minister in China, is at an end, and that it rests henceforward exclusively with her Britannic Majesty, in accordance with the terms of Article II. of the treaty of Tien-tsin, to decide whether or not she shall instruct her minister to take up his abode permanently at Peking.

The undersigned has further to observe, that the outrage at the Peiho has compelled her Majesty's government to increase her forces in China at a considerable cost, and the contribution that may be required from the Chinese government towards

defraying this expense, will be greater or less according to the promptitude with which the demands above made are satisfied in full by the imperial government.

The undersigned has only to add, that unless he receives within a period of thirty days from the date of this communication, a reply conveying the unqualified assent of his Majesty the Emperor of China to these demands, the British naval and military authorities will proceed to adopt such measures as they may deem advisable, for the purpose of compelling the Emperor of China to observe the engagements contracted for him by his plenipotentiaries at Tien-tsin, and approved by his imperial edict of July, 1858.

The undersigned, &c.

(Signed) FREDERICK W. A. BRUCE.

On the 6th of April, Sir Hope Grant arrived at Shanghae, and on the 9th the official copy of the answer to our ultimatum was received. A private copy had come to hand a few days before, but the original was detained for some cause. It ran as follows:—

The Great Council of State to Commissioner Ho.

(Translation.)

THE Great Council writes a reply (to the Commissioner Ho, which he is) to transmit.

The Council received yesterday (or, a short time since) a despatch from the commissioner, and with it a communication he had forwarded from the British minister Bruce, the contents of which have occasioned the Council the greatest astonishment.

He states, for instance, that Peh-tang was never alluded to by the imperial commissioners, Kweiliang and his colleagues. It appears that last year the imperial commissioners, Kweiliang and his colleagues, waited for the British minister at Shanghae, for the express purpose of considering with him in person all the conditions proper to an exchange of treaties. On ascertaining that the minister Bruce had arrived at Wu-sung, they wrote to him several times to engage him to meet them, their object

being, in fact, to acquaint him that Takoo was fortified (or, that arrangements had been made for keeping people out of Takoo), and that he must go by way of Peh-tang. He, however, repelled them, refusing them an interview. The imperial commissioners, Kweiliang and his colleagues, moreover, informed him that vessels of war must on no account cross the bar; but the British minister Bruce paid no attention to these words; and when, on arriving off the Tien-tsin coast (or the port, or the ports, of Tien-tsin), Hang, governor-general of Chih-li, despatched an officer with a communication to the effect that he was to proceed by way of Peh-tang, and sent him a present of provisions, he would receive nothing; but suddenly brought his vessels into Takoo, and (commenced) destroying the defensive apparatus there placed. How can he allege that he never received the slightest intimation that he was to go by Peh-tang? And as he was coming to exchange treaties, why did he bring with him ships of war? It was plainly his intent to pick a quarrel. How, then, can he (when the blame is all his own) charge China with shortcoming towards him?

The defences prepared at Takoo are not either (as he implies) prepared to keep out the British. Suppose that some other nation's ships of war were to go the length of presenting themselves under British colours, could it be left to them to commit any breach of propriety they pleased? Well, then, the defences of Takoo cannot possibly be removed, even when the treaties shall have been exchanged.

(Then the demand for) indemnity under different heads, and for the restitution of guns, arms, and vessels, is yet more against decorum. The war expenses of China have been enormous. The cost of defending the coast from Kwang-tung and Fuh-kien up to Tien-tsin, from first to last, has not been short of several millions of money. Were she to demand repayment of England, England would find that her expenses do not amount to the half of those of China.

As to restoring ships and guns, the year before last England destroyed the forts at Takoo, and obtained possession of a number of guns belonging to China; ought she not, then, on her part, to be considering how to make these good? But, besides this,

half the British ships and guns (demanded) were sunk in the sea ; they are not in the possession of China at all. The question may be dropped, therefore, by both parties alike.

Then there is (the announcement that) the compromise by which, the treaties once exchanged, (the minister) was to have resided somewhere else, is at an end. The compromise by which, once the treaties were exchanged, (the minister) was either to select some other place of residence, or to visit (the capital) whenever there might be business of importance to transact, was definitely settled by the British minister Elgin in negotiation with the imperial commissioner Kweiliang and his colleagues. The revocation of this compromise now (announced) is even more unreasonable (than all the other propositions).

Last year, when, after the Americans had exchanged their treaty, there was an alteration in the rate of tonnage dues, and the ports of Tai-wan and Chang-chau (Swatow) were opened to trade, the British minister earnestly prayed for a like arrangement (in his favour). The English had not exchanged their treaty, but his Majesty the Emperor, liberal to foreign nations, and full of tender consideration for the interests of commerce, graciously sanctioned an extension of the boon to the English, for which they should be equally grateful. But if the compromise duly negotiated is to be annulled, there will be no impropriety on the part of China, if she cancel the arrangement by which she has conceded to the English (the same advantage of) the improvements in tonnage-dues and trade that accrues to the Americans under their treaty.

To come to the (British minister's) request to be treated with courtesy when he comes north to exchange treaties. If he be sincere in his desire for peace, let the commissioner, when he shall have thought over all the details of the treaty, those which it will be proper to give effect to, and those respecting which compromise (or arrangement) is to be made, negotiate (with the British minister), and when both parties shall be perfectly agreed, if he will come north without vessels of war, and with a moderate retinue, and will wait at Peh-tang to exchange the treaties, China will not take him to task for what is gone by. He must be directed to acquaint himself with the rules (observed, or laid

down) at the exchange of the American treaties, and the course to be pursued will be further discussed with him (by the commissioner).

But if he be resolved to bring up a number of vessels of war, and if he persist in proceeding by way of Takoo, this will show that his true purpose is not the exchange of treaties, and it must be left to the high officer in charge of the coast (or port) defences to take such steps as shall be thereby rendered necessary (*lit.*, as shall accord with reason).

The despatch written on this occasion (by the British minister) is in much of its language too insubordinate and extravagant (for the council) to discuss its propositions more than superficially (*lit.*, to go deep into argument). For the future he must not be so wanting in decorum.

The above remarks will have to be communicated by the commissioner to the British minister, whom it will behove not to adhere obstinately to his own opinion, as by so doing he will give cause to much trouble hereafter.

A necessary communication.

This document was considered highly unsatisfactory, and left us little room to doubt as to what matters must come to before a settlement could be arrived at. It was replied to by Mr. Bruce in the following terms :—

Mr. Bruce to Commissioner Ho.

Shanghai, April 13, 1860.

THE undersigned, her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, &c., begs to acknowledge receipt of a despatch date the 5th instant, from his Excellency Ho, imperial commissioner for the superintendence of trade, inclosing copy of one addressed to his excellency by the members of the Great Council.

The undersigned had the honour, on the 8th ultimo, to address a communication to their excellencies the above high officers, and the chief secretary, Pang Wan-chang, a proceeding in perfect

accordance with the provisions of Article XI. of the Nanking treaty, by which it is agreed that her Britannic Majesty's high officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese high officers, both at the capital and in the provinces.

As in the case of the late chief secretary, Yu-ching, when addressed by the Earl of Elgin in 1858, their excellencies have thought proper to ignore this treaty right, and have left the communication of the undersigned on a most important question unacknowledged.

The language of the letter, however, which the council has instructed the commissioner to communicate to the undersigned is sufficient, in his opinion, to determine the course he is to pursue.

The undersigned was directed by her Britannic Majesty's Government to demand the unqualified acceptance of certain conditions. Not only has the acceptance of these not been signified to the undersigned, but a letter has been written, the tone of which, the undersigned regrets to observe, is throughout such as to leave little hope of a pacific solution of existing difficulties.

It remains, therefore, for the undersigned to refer the government of his imperial majesty to the concluding paragraph of his letter of the 8th ultimo to the secretary of state and great council; in accordance with the tenour of which the naval and military authorities will now be called on to adopt such measures as may seem to them advisable, for the purpose of compelling the Emperor of China to observe the engagements entered into by him, and to grant reparation for the acts of his Majesty's government in June last, when the undersigned was on his way to Peking to exchange the ratifications of the treaty.

The undersigned will be obliged to the commissioner to bring this letter to the notice of the imperial government.

The undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

FREDERICK W. A. BRUCE.

After twelve days spent in making arrangements for future operations, the commanders-in-chief of both forces being present, we left Shanghae on the 18th, and

anchored off Kintang the following afternoon, having encountered one of the Chusan fogs, which delayed us. Here we found a flotilla of nine vessels; the "Saigon" (French), the "Pearl," and three of our transports, which were due, had not yet arrived.

The tide ran so strong here that it was really dangerous to leave the ships, even in fully-manned boats. Several which made the attempt had great difficulty in effecting a return. One which was not sufficiently manned, drifted hopelessly away; we had to veer out to them a line attached to a life-buoy, and they had hard pulling even with that help, to regain the vessel. We here learned the danger of going even a few hundred yards without being provided with anchor and compass.

Next day the missing vessels arrived, and we prepared to take formal possession of Chusan on the morrow.

On the 21st we steamed in, and anchored in order of battle off the suburbs. It was a lovely morning, and from the shore we must have looked very grand. The interest on board the ships was intense, for it was not known to every one, as it was to myself, how little chance there was of any opposition. Soon after we anchored, a party was formed to go on shore and summon the place to surrender. The party consisted of Mr. Parkes, M. de Meritans, Mr. Mongan, and Mr. Hughes to conduct the conference, whilst a French naval and military officer, Captain Maguire, R.N., and myself, represented the combatants. On landing, we proceeded straight to the residence of the military magistrate, and after procuring the attendance of his civil colleague, we broached the business. There was a good deal of fencing about on the question, the mandarins saying that they would be glad to receive us as guests, and enter-

tain us as long as we wished to remain ; but the unconditional surrender was insisted on in the first instance, subject to such modifications as the allied commanders might approve. Ultimately this was all settled, and we returned to the "Granada," Sir Hope Grant's vessel, bearing off the two mandarins with us. A grand meeting was held on board, and the terms of capitulation, as well as arrangements for the future government of the island, agreed upon. I think the system was the same in principle as that in use at Canton.

It was decided that a guard should be sent on shore that evening ; the English to be quartered in the building we erected during our previous occupation, and which was capable of containing two hundred men ; the French were to take up temporary quarters in the temple on Joss-house Hill. I offered, as I knew the locality, to guide our little force. We did not get away till near seven P.M., and, in spite of a dense fog, managed to hit off the landing-place ; and the marines hastened to shake themselves down in their new quarters. On returning to the shore, between eight and nine o'clock, I heard in the fog sounds of European oars working in rowlocks. I hailed, and found it was the French party, who had been unable, from the fog, to discover the landing-place, and were about to try to return to their vessels. Having guided them to the proper spot, I then offered to take them to their quarters. On reaching the temple, we found the gates all barred, and not a sound to be heard ; but a French soldier gave me a leg up over the wall, and I went in and knocked up the old bonzes, and made them throw open their gates.

On endeavouring to return on board, we found the wisdom of having taken a compass and anchor, as well

as of having noted the bearing of the shore before leaving the ship, for the fog was so perfectly dense that we could make out nothing, but that the tide was drifting us away, so as to render it extremely improbable that we should ever reach the vessel; therefore before getting set out of our course sufficiently to upset all calculations as to our whereabouts, we anchored till the tide slackened, and at midnight succeeded in getting on board.

Next day the General inspected all the town. He decided not to land the whole force which he had brought up. The Artillery, Engineers, Marines, and 99th Regiment were the only English troops quartered in the island; the remainder lived on board their vessels at an anchorage at some little distance from Tinghae.

On the 23rd Sir Hope Grant left in the "Granada" for Hong Kong. Brigadier Reeves was left in command of the Chusan force, and I remained in command of the Engineers.

We made ourselves very busy at first in getting the temples ready for barracks, a duty which our Cantonese experience had rendered familiar. We soon got interpreters and contractors; also timber, boards, and matting, wherewith to enclose most of the buildings, and floor some of them. We got trestles and bed-boards for the men to sleep on; cook-houses and ablution-places sprang up rapidly, and in a few days we were really comfortable.

Nor were we neglectful of the proper preservation of the temples. Many of the josses were unequal to supporting the burdens of the accoutrements, arms, shakoes, &c., which they were made to carry, so we railed them all round, in order to support them in their proper position. I think that beyond knocking a few holes through the walls, for doorways to connect our rooms, we did no

damage whatever ; and as the natives, unlike the Cantonese, perpetrated no offensive acts, we were glad to do them as little injury as possible.

I was rather sorry for the speculators in house property on the beach, for there we were obliged to take possession of, I think, every house ; and a great many were pulled down before I left, to give proper circulation of air round the buildings to be occupied by troops. However, I should have been more sorry had they been in the occupation of the real owners. Arrangements were, moreover, made, for compensation to be paid to those whose property was taken.

Down at the water-side, wharves and piers were springing up, store-houses and coal depôts established ; forage, provisions, fuel, and all the thousand and one things in which the commissariat deal, were pouring in. Fatigue parties in the city were getting all the Chinese arms removed from the gates and military posts, into central magazines, over which we posted a guard. Every one at first was very busy. It was often wet ; and but for the energy with which we looked after scavenging, our quarters would have been dreadfully dirty.

The water frontage of the suburb was divided between the French and ourselves, and we held the joss-house, which appeared the most commanding spot, in joint occupation. An amusing instance of the preservation of the principle of share alike, occurred one day here. In the hurry of the first occupation, we, as well as the French, had hoisted our flags on the first things that came to hand, which were studding-sail booms belonging to our men-of-war. The French admiral wanted his on board again one day, so he sent to say that he was going to strike his flag and staff at a certain hour ; and as he thought it undesirable that the flag of one nation should

ever be flying when the other was down, he asked if we would be good enough to strike ours at the same time.

The proposal was agreed to, and down came the two flags. The next thing was to provide two staffs of precisely equal length as substitutes. This was satisfactorily arranged under the superintendence of an officer from each force, and the flags were hoisted, when lo and behold it was discovered that the union jack was larger than the tricolor. This we were told, would never do; would we cut our union jack smaller? However, this proposal did not meet our views, so answer was returned that the tricolor might be made as large as ever they liked, but that the jack should not be shorn of its fair proportions. I really do not know how often we were called upon to measure the heights of the two flags which flew side by side on the top of Magazine Hill at Canton; for, from different points of view, as you ascended the hill, the flags seemed unequal in elevation as was consistent with the laws of perspective. I fear we were sometimes suspected, after putting them straight, of poking ours up in the night.

When we had got through our work of settling down, we amused ourselves by taking long rambles over the island, varied by occasional roe-hunts. These were conducted after the following fashion. A number of beaters and dogs were got together, and some of the wooded hills beaten, whilst we lay in ambush for the chance of a shot at likely points; but the worst feature was, what with the Chinese was a *sine quâ non*,—a long net stretched behind us, into which the deer were driven. It is true the net did not surround the cover, and the deer, if they saw it, could easily jump it, as it was not more than three feet high, but I am afraid



TOWN AND HARBOUR OF TING-HAE, CHUSAN.

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more were caught in the net than fell to the guns. In this way we would, perhaps, get about three in a day. These little creatures were sometimes brought alive into the town for sale, and were easily tamed. We had one in our barracks which soon learnt to eat out of the hand.

We found, as a relic of our former occupation of the island, considerable traces of the Hindostanee language. I think it was more generally tried on us by the natives at first, than pigeon English, but as we had no Indian troops with us this time, they soon gave it up. An old man with only one leg used to frequent our barracks very much. He had been wounded in our assault on the place in 1841, and his leg had been amputated by an English doctor. His children, nice little things, had the freedom of our doorstep conferred upon them, where they played the universal game of knuckle-bone all day long : they were great adepts at it. There seemed to be little or no bad feeling towards us in the place. I think the Chinese settle down with their destiny, and say, " Even so it must be : now let us see what we can make out of them." They adapt themselves wonderfully to circumstances, wisely endeavouring to turn everything to account, whatever befalls them.

The mandarins seemed to take some interest in our doings, and we paid one another visits of ceremony and hospitality, giving the old gentlemen wine and beer, as they gave us tea and sweetmeats. I remember one of them approved highly of sherry. At Canton old Sing-chong used to ask us sometimes for beer, which he said he took medicinally. He was wont to enlarge on its virtues with much simplicity. Mustard, too, he used to like, and if he came into our mess-room at luncheon

time he often asked for a little, saying it was "number one good for his belly." Poor old man! this is not a romantic point of view from which to behold him; but we all of us got to like him. He was a very good old rascal, and I really think an honest man.

On the 18th May, Major-General Sir R. Napier arrived to make all arrangements for the establishment at Chusan. The following day I went with him to Poo-too, where he had not before been; but it was decided not to intrude on this picturesque spot.

We had to set to work again now, to contract our position; for the force to be left on the island was very small, and would be quartered in the suburb adjoining the anchorage, the large buildings in the city being given up again to the Chinese, and a *pied à terre* only being held in the town at two of the gates.

We turned all sorts of old buildings to account, and made some very nice barracks and little hospitals. It was decided not to have a general hospital on the island, as the large ships fitted up for the purpose, and which would accompany the force, would no doubt prove more valuable. The station, therefore, was destined to become a half-way house of call between Hong Kong and the army in the north, a coaling or watering place, and a dépôt for stores.

The principle which first suggested itself was that of making the best building into a hospital; but I am glad to say we abandoned it, and adopted that of endeavouring to keep the troops in health as long as possible by giving them the best possible barracks, keeping smaller buildings, but still commodious, and affording the proper ventilation and cubical space for patients, for hospital purposes. I believe that the event proved that we had done right, and the place was found healthy, in spite of

the doubtful reputation it had established from previous trial. The main causes were, I think, good food, good water, and avoiding the rising ground. It was curious, and I frequently tried it, to walk round the town at night, and mark the difference of atmosphere on ascending the hill which lies on the north side. Often when all below is clear, this is wreathed with a cold, damp fog, which seems to find its way into the very bones, the line of demarcation on either side being as sensibly defined as that within and without the hall-door.

Yet though Chusan thus retrieved the bad character which it had formerly held, we need not regret having abandoned it when once in our occupation. Commercially, it is of but little value ; its produce does not suffice for its own small population. Its only communications with the producing country are by a sea beset with strong and uncertain currents, rapid tide-races, and also liable to sudden dense fogs.

With Ningpo and Shanghae on either side, both open to our trade, Chusan for mercantile purposes would be valueless. It is only as a military station that it could be found useful, and as such we do not want it. The fewer foreign military settlements there are on the coast of China, the better will it be for the interests of commerce.

CHAPTER XXIV.

We sail for Ta-lien-hwan—Sampson peak—The army is landed—Waterworks
—Fatal boat accident—Reconnaissance of Pei-ho and Peh-tang—Council of
war—Plan of operations.

ON the 9th June we began to embark, and on the 11th sailed for Ta-lien-hwan bay, the English place of rendezvous, which had been surveyed and explored in the spring. The French were to go to Chefoo, where I had been the autumn before. The two places are nearly opposite one another, on either side of the straits of Pe-chili.

On nearing shore, on the 16th, we got into the fog as usual, and had to anchor. We felt glad that we had done so, when the fog lifted, and we saw the barren cliffs rising from the sea and the breakers underneath. A noble mountain with a grand outline, rising from a more gently undulating country on the opposite side of the bay, dominated majestically over the whole country round. It was a patriarchal hill, lofty and grand, but not jagged and severe—broad and massive, peaked enough to tower, yet expanded in outline, so as to give the impression of a firm yet benevolent rule. This was Sampson Peak.

On the 18th my company was sent on shore for the day, to work at the watering places; but it came on to blow so hard, that we were unable to return, and, after roughing it for a night, our camp equipage was sent on

shore. Other detachments followed by degrees, and at last, as it became evident that there would be considerable delays from some backwardness in the French arrangements, our whole force was put on shore on the 29th—the first division in Victoria Bay, the second at Odin Bay, the cavalry and artillery at Hand Bay. Of the first division, to which I belonged, the first brigade was near the watering-place where we originally disembarked, the second with the head-quarters near Sampson's Well.

Our principal work was to find water, which was at first very scarce. The fleet was all anchored in the bay, the vessels being near the divisions to which they were respectively told off. The total force numbered 58 men-of-war and 126 transports. In some places we dug wells, and in others cleared out the springs, and excavated reservoirs to receive the water from them. The quantity which had accumulated in the night, was usually pumped away in the morning, when we would set to work to clear out and deepen our reservoirs for the reception of a fresh supply. Small dipping pools were made for the use of the troops, distinct from the large reservoirs from which the water-boats were filled. A violent rain which accompanied a thunder-storm, did us more harm than good; for the water brought such a quantity of earth down with it, as spoilt our reservoirs for a time. To guard against a repetition of such an accident we built filtering dams across the ravines, which arrested the water, and held it for a time, allowing the earthy matter to deposit itself among the stones and shingle of which the dams were formed.

Another of our works was the formation of piers. The place best suited for the purpose was near our first brigade watering-place, as the shore there being steeper,

the tide did not ebb so far as in the neighbourhood of the head-quarters. The first gave us some little trouble ; but later, when great pier accommodation was required for the re-embarkation, and we got plenty of coolies to work, to carry stone from a rocky promontory adjacent, we built another on a grand scale, running out parallel to the first, and about a hundred yards or so distant from it. As these were continued out to a considerable length, so as to have from two feet to three feet of water at the end at low tide, we had not only two useful piers, but a still-water basin, in which at high tide boats could anchor, and await their turn to come alongside. The last was so wide as to allow of embarkation going on from both sides together, if the water was calm enough to allow of boats lying on the outer side.

These works kept the troops pretty well employed, and in this respect were very useful after their confinement on shipboard ; and, though at the time we grumbled at the delay, it was really beneficial. The soldiers got into good condition ; and, after they had gone through a little inconvenience attendant on their eating a great quantity of oysters, with which the rocks abounded, (in a month when I suppose they were out of season,) they were uncommonly healthy ; and between parades and drills, works and games, they passed the time pleasantly enough, solaced by a well-stocked canteen, which supplied them with good beer, at a rate reasonable, under the circumstances.

It was not to be expected that we were to be free from deaths here, but they were few in number. We inclosed a plot of ground near the shore, which was set apart as a burial-place. A gloom was cast over our camp one day by a sad accident. Captain Gordon, of the Engineers, crossed from the opposite side of the bay, on 11th

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July, to our camp to inquire for letters, the mail having just arrived ; and in the afternoon he got into his boat again to return, accompanied by Captain Lumsden. When in the middle of the bay, the boat was struck by a sudden squall, and capsized. It was nearly dark, and they were far from any help. Lumsden struck out ; Gordon began to accompany him, but, doubting his powers, he, after going some distance, resolved to return to the capsized boat, to which the lascars crew were clinging. He had almost reached it, when he sank from exhaustion. The lascars were eventually picked up. Lumsden for a long time failed to come across any help. Fearing to exhaust himself during the night, and reserving his strength for any emergency, he contented himself with keeping afloat, lying on his back a great part of the time. What a situation !—floating on your back gazing into the sky, darkness all round you, alone with your thoughts and retrospections ! So he passed the greater part of the night. At length, after the lapse of six long hours, whilst still in this position, a sound as of surf breaking on the shore was borne to his ear. Now was the time for action—he turned, and swimming gained the beach. Here he lay and quietly slept, until daylight showed his position, when rising, he set off towards his camp, which was some miles distant, meeting by the way his friends, who had come out to search for him, scarcely hoping ever to see him alive again. I think I never heard of a more striking instance of cool, calm pluck and endurance. True courage is not that which often passes for it, ignorance of danger ; but, on the contrary, a quick perception of it, with calmness to meet it, and to take coolly the steps best suited to avert it, or mitigate its consequences.

At one time there was a little apprehension with

regard to the desertion of coolies, when encamped here ; some actually ran away, but I believe either returned or were sent back. They were said to have been rather roughly treated by the corps to which they were attached, but it was about the only instance of the kind ; in general they were well-used, and served us faithfully, from the beginning of their engagement till the end.

The people in the villages about this place were not the original inhabitants of the country : they said that their ancestors had come, about a hundred years before, from the south of China, the provinces of Quang-tung and Yunan. They were very dark in complexion, much more so than the generality of the people in the south, and about Canton. I noticed a fact generally in China, which was contrary to my preconceived ideas ; that the farther north we went along the sea-coast, the darker was the complexion of the natives. Between the Pei-ho and the Great Wall, many of the fishermen, and those exposed to the weather, were nearly what by contrast with ourselves, we should call black. It may be, that the vicissitudes of weather, and great alternations of temperature, have a more bronzing effect than the more protracted exposure to the sun, in a serene though sultry climate.

On the 18th July, a council of war was held at Chefoo, and a forward movement decided upon. On the 20th I was ordered on board the "Cruiser," to go in company with Captain Ward's surveying ship the "Actæon," and the gun-boats "Dove" and "Janus," to examine the Peh-tang and Pei-ho, and see what had been done to them since our last visit.

On the 22nd we arrived at the rendezvous, where, leaving the "Cruiser," we went in with the other

vessels to the neighbourhood of the mouths of the two rivers. Here we found some Russian and American vessels at anchor: they were in constant communication with the shore, a circumstance which, perhaps, aided us in our future explorations.

The naval officers made a minute survey of the approaches towards the two rivers. On the 24th, I went, in the "Janus," to a point as near the shore as we could get, between them, and where there were only eight feet of water. We anchored here, and had a good look about us. We then crept up the shore to the mouth of the Peh-tang, where a survey of the bar was going on. The following day all the survey-boats went into the river and were busily employed: the "Cruiser's" cutter ascended above the forts, and found no boom, and no apparent preparations for defence, beyond the forts themselves: no change had been made in them since the autumn before; nor were any cavalry brought out on this occasion, as had been done the last time we paid them a visit.

Meanwhile I landed with Captain Bythesea on the mud-bank to the south of the river, with two or three sailors, and we walked inland over it for about three-quarters of a mile: we got on to a plain which appeared beyond the influence of ordinary tides, whence we could see a raised road leading from the rear of the town of Peh-tang towards the Pei-ho. We were assured of its nature by seeing a bullock-cart being drawn along it. We also were able to make out a bridge, over which the road passed, close to the town; and near it was a palisade-gate. This was an important point, as it guarded us against the possible error of attempting any attack on the works in front, in which case the ditch would have been a serious obstacle. By watching the

cart when crossing the bridge we were able to estimate with correctness, the width of the ditch.

In conducting these surveys we abstained from using flags, considering that there was no use in insisting upon showing our nationality, whilst there was a probability of our being allowed a certain latitude on the chance of our belonging to one of the friendly nations. Some villagers, who came down to the boats, made the mark of a St. Andrew's cross on the shore, accompanied by a gesture of interrogation, evidently with a view to ask if we were Russians, that being the emblem on their flag; but of course, it was not convenient to understand them or to put such a construction on their dumb show.

On the 26th, the day that the fleet left Ta-lien-hwan, I went with the "Dove" and another gun-boat to make a diversion by a visit to the Pei-ho; as we must have made a considerable demonstration at the Peh-tang, and it was desirable to effect a landing there unopposed, if not unexpectedly. We anchored at some little distance from the forts, and feasted our eyes on them through our telescopes with great interest. They looked in magnificent order; the angles of the embrasures and slopes were as beautifully finished as the plastering of the cornice of a drawing-room. This did not give, as might be fancied, the idea of a brittle gimcrack work, for we knew that though the upper parapets were thin, and liable to be knocked away, yet the main mass of the work was of a nature the least impressionable by shot: rammed and sun-burnt clay, which was moreover strengthened by piles, braced and interlaced with ropes and chains; the face of the work was plastered over, so as to turn off every drop of wet, and prevent any injury to the mass, from the

action of frost. We noticed, subsequently, how careful the Engineers were on this point, and to what trouble they had gone in constructing the necessary drains for carrying off the surface water from their ramparts. We observed, and with pleasure, that abattis of felled timber, and pointed stakes driven into the ground, extended along the sea-face of their works in a much greater degree than the year before; which gave us hopes that they were still expecting an attack on the same quarter, and that they had expended the main part of their labour and resources in strengthening their works at a point on which we should not direct our attack.

Whilst lying here, some boats pushed off from the shore as if to communicate with us; but as a conversation might be embarrassing, and could not be productive of much good, we declined the interview, and steamed away, moving to the southward to see what they might have done to prevent any movement on that side. We were unable to go near the shore on account of the shoalness of the water; but we thought we could make out a working party throwing up a battery in front of a village about six miles south of the Pei-ho: however, we could not make sure of it.

That night, the survey being completed, we returned to the "Cruiser," and next morning the flag-ship, with the leading portion of our fleet, appeared in sight, and took up a position near us. On the morning of the 28th, the important council of war was held on board the flag-ship, where we separately detailed our experiences.

It was decided to land a portion of the force on the south bank of the river, at a point about one thousand two hundred yards from the forts; a distance at which the enemy's fire would lose much of its accuracy,

whilst ours would be as effective as at a shorter range. In warfare between forces with weapons of different power, that point at which those of one side begin to lose their efficiency, whilst those of the other side maintain it, is an important one, and worthy of study.

When landed, this force was to establish itself on the road, and move on the rear of the works ; and in case of opposition, there was to be a bombardment on the front, from the gun-boats.

In order to carry out this scheme in the best way, the desiderata, in a purely military point of view, were a neap-tide, and a landing at about quarter ebb. The bed of the river was a deep narrow channel, having at this point, steep banks on the south side, but more shelving on the north ; to this channel at low-tide the water confined itself, leaving a tolerably high bank on the south side at dead low-water. At high-tide the water overflowed the flat ground, and though it speedily left it again, it left it wet and sticky for some time. Of course, during springs, and other unusually high tides, the ground was more laid under water than at other times ; therefore neap-tides and quarter ebb would be the time for troops to land, if they alone were concerned, when the small part of the flat which had been flooded, had been allowed to dry ; and when there would still be enough water for a gun-boat to lie in the deep channel and allow men almost to walk on shore over a gang-board ; at all events to land dry-footed from boats. But, unfortunately, here was a difficulty, for it was only possible to bring our larger gun-boats over the bar at high-water, and some of them only at springs. And as the crossing the bar was indispensable, it seemed likely that the wetting of the feet would prove inevitable.

CHAPTER XXV.

Landing at Peh-tang—Chinese man-traps—Occupation of the town—Disembarkation of the army, and works connected with it—Advances—Capture of Sin-ho—Outrages on inhabitants—Capture of Tangkoo—Chinese artillerymen—The condition of the town.

ON the 29th July, the fleet got under weigh, and we advanced, and anchored within about eight miles of the shore, and opposite the part of the coast lying between the Pei-ho and Peh-tang, so that the enemy would still be in doubt as to our plans. The tides ran unusually high to-day; and at the ebb, the water only fell from three to four feet, owing to a strong easterly wind: this foreboded rather ill for our landing, though well for the crossing of the bar. On the 30th, the sailing portion of the fleet came in. Next day we were to have landed, but it was too windy, and the sea too rough to attempt it, as a great portion of the force would be conveyed in boats, which would be towed by the gun-vessels and other steamers of light draught; but on the 1st August we accomplished it.

We left our anchorage soon after nine A.M., suiting the time of our departure, so as to get over the bar at high-water: when once we had passed between the boats which were moored on either side of the passage to mark the entrance, and hoist flags from time to time, indicating the results of the soundings, we were safe in comparatively deep water, and still out of range of the forts.

We moved up to the appointed place of landing, and anchored ; but so well had the wind and tide raised the water, that for some time after the tide turned, the flat remained covered, and of course, to those unacquainted with the ground, the task looked hopeless. It seemed to us as if the tide would never go down. At length our allies lost patience, and at about five P.M. they began to land ; we had, of course, to do the same, and out we splashed into the water, nearly up to our knees. As we waded on, we soon got on to land, but not dry land ; for far beyond where we had been walking dry-shod a few days before, we found that the now ebbing tide had overflowed.

No symptom was there of opposition : just as we prepared to land, a small force of Tartar cavalry rode out from the town and trotted along towards the Pei-ho. The invading force took off its boots and stockings and waded serenely up, till it got to terra firma. Here we halted, and made ourselves tidy again, whilst the road was being examined. It was found to be a good hard road of dry and consolidated mud, formed from an excavation on either side, now in the condition of broad ditches with about two feet of water in them. It was determined, as it was now late, to bivouac on the road. The French who landed on our left, took the Pei-ho end of our line, whilst we established a guard on the right, at the gate leading to the town. We were all very thirsty, and hailed with joy some breakers of water sent us from the boats ; when after having pic-nicked on such fare as we had brought with us, we lay down to sleep on the ground. The ditch smelt rather nasty ; but the slopes on either side made by no means a bad place to sleep on, and we were tolerably comfortable. There were two alarms in the night ; one

a groundless one, the other was a real one, though not serious. A party of Tartars, either reconnoitring or not knowing what was up, came pretty close to the road from the plain on the north side; when being challenged, they made off, expedited by the bullets of the sentries, and whoever else was prepared for them. In the morning we found, as the result, one accoutred horse dead, and the saddle of another.

During the night the indefatigable Parkes got into the town, and finding a respectable-looking old man, ascertained from him that the forts were deserted; he also informed him of mines, or infernal-machines being buried in them. At four A.M. I went in with him and Colonel Mann, and Mr. Lock: we found some French Engineers engaged in laying bare these engines of destruction. Their construction was as follows:—A pit was dug in the ground, and in it placed large iron shells loaded with powder; a match communicated between the shell and a flint-gun lock, which it was intended to fire, by a string attached to the trigger, and crossing the pit-fall. Over the whole, was laid a mat lightly strewed with earth. The *modus operandi* was, that on entering the fort, we should run over the mat, which would let us down; falling on the string, we should pull the trigger, and be blown up. This is an instance of the Chinese peculiarity of taking great labour and trouble for little results: there were in all, I think, only four of these things; two near the entrance, and two at the foot of the slopes leading to the ramparts. They had evidently been recently placed, from the appearance of the mould. It was not intended to defend the fort: it was rather unlikely that, in entering quietly, we should fall into one of the traps, whatever one might do in a hasty assault; and extremely unlikely

that if one went off with effect, a second would succeed. At the most, about one barbarian apiece would be a large average of destruction for them.

And all this trouble and a considerable expense had been incurred for such a chance, unconnected with any other or ulterior purpose! It is like the Cantonese arrangement, by which some forty pounds of powder were laid out in a bag to be fired from a distance, for the chance of blowing up a policeman.

Having made all secure, our next step was to occupy the town: this was an inevitable necessity, as there was no place fit for encamping; and the shore and river were indispensable for the landing of our troops, horses, and stores. It is a pity that it could not be avoided, as the town had shown no resistance, and the inhabitants had behaved well. However, it was hoped, that the buildings near the water-side, and the official residences, would be sufficient for our purposes. I was directed to accompany the Quartermaster-General and a French Engineer officer, to assist in making arrangements for the division of the town.

There was a long street running straight through the place—in fact, the continuation of the road upon which we had slept; and as this divided the town fairly, we adopted it as the line of demarcation. It was perfectly agreed that we were to be on the one side, and the French on the other. This matter arranged, the troops were marched in, and quartered about in the more convenient buildings; some being chosen for their proximity to the shore, others from their being large or public buildings, not involving interference with the inhabitants.

On entering the house allotted to the Engineer officers, we found in it a family consisting of two men

and three women; the latter in great distress, and crying bitterly. We explained the necessity of the case, and assured them that so far as we were concerned their property should be uninjured, and that we would leave everything precisely as we found it. They seemed as thankful as one had any right to expect, under the circumstances. It is a painful thing thus to be brought into close contact with all the miseries of war. There is little to be done to mitigate them, and in the excitement of the times, soldiers are sadly forgetful of the griefs of the poor citizens. Still the injury is not always actually done by the invading troops themselves. The worst robbers in Canton were the natives, who in large bands took advantage of the times, and plundered wholesale: they devoured in front of us in a singular way; that is to say, if we had occasion to clear the ground in our front, we pulled down a row of houses; the inhabitants forsook the next row in alarm: the robbers then would ransack them in turn, and strip them of their roofs for the sake of the timber. We then, seeing the useless walls, might be tempted to remove them as they afforded shelter to skulking thieves and braves. Immediately the devastation spread backwards, and so we might have gone through the entire city. But at Pehtang the place was not large, and had not the idle vagabond characters that a populous city would contain.

I hoped myself that the natives would be able to live with us quietly, as far as would be permitted by our occupying a portion of the town; and with this view, when the French officer suggested to me, that while we should have one section and they another, the natives should occupy a third, I answered, "Let us each take half for our own necessities, and each in our own half

provide as far as possible for the well-being of the native residents; thus making as little disturbance as possible among their homes." But, unfortunately, it turned out far differently: the people took a panic, and fled in haste; some of the women, as we found afterwards, in their alarm either killed themselves with opium or by drowning. Our English soldiers behaved, on the whole, very well, and were, when not at work, confined a great deal to their quarters. The Sikhs did a little quiet looting; but our allies were acquisitive in the highest degree. Nor did they confine themselves to their own quarters: the main street formed no boundary to them; Peh-tang was theirs, and, except in the houses we were actually occupying, they were all over the place. On the first day I remonstrated with one of them for carrying off some screaming chickens from an inhabited house. The poor ill-used soldier, with an air of injured innocence, replied, "*Mon Dieu! monsieur, est-ce grande chose après la prise d'une ville, de prendre quelques poulets pour nos pauvres malades?*" Not only did the *pauvres malades*, but also the hale and hearty, fare sumptuously on chicken and pork as long as the live-stock lasted. I do not mean to say that our force did not do so likewise; for after the inhabitants had left the place, and abandoned their pigs, we could not allow them to starve, nor undertake the care of them for their owners, but we naturally did not like our district to be invaded by our neighbours, and we could not keep them out. We were on several occasions really impeded in our work on the shore, by French soldiers driving by the leg, obstinate pigs captured round our men's quarters, whilst they were employed without, and which, with an exasperating coolness, they brought all through our working parties in

triumph. Their system was to live on the country; and as long as the people ran away, and left perishable provisions behind, there was not much to blame in the system; but the moment you drive the people away in order to obtain a right to their property, the system becomes faulty.

The principal employment of the Engineers was in forming piers and wharves, on which to disembark the remainder of the force; for the original party landed was a small one.

Besides men, there were to be disembarked guns, with all their appurtenances; a quantity of ammunition; horses, both artillery and transport; stores of every kind, provisions, and more tons of material than the uninitiated would think possible. The number of horses belonging to the force, including transport animals, was 3,354.

We found a Chinese pier, which we repaired and strengthened, and we put up three or four others, made from materials which had been prepared at Hong Kong by Admiral Hope, and a quantity of which we had brought with us. We made also a hard place for disembarking horses, as the mud was too soft to put them overboard on to it. They used to be hoisted from the gun-boats in slings, and then quietly walked up to terra firma. The artillery came in capital trim: the guns were landed, then the horses; they put to on the bank, and drove off to their quarters without the slightest delay. Not so the transport animals: they were in miserable plight; many could hardly be got to move. Some of them appeared to be half-starved, either from sickness or want of attention. They lay down on the ground very often, as if exhausted; but I thought it a significant fact that one, which looked in a dying state,

most willingly devoured a wisp of hay which was given to it—on which we gave it more, and by-and-by it got up and walked off. I am afraid they had had a bad time of it.

The principal danger in our arrangements, was that of choking up the avenues leading from the piers; therefore we had to clear away some of the houses next the water, to give a sufficient wharfage, and by allotting the buildings near the shore to the Commissariat, and other departments which had heavy and bulky articles, desirable to store at once, and by improving the roads leading into the town, we managed to keep ourselves tolerably clear. We all had to work hard, but I think the Navy the hardest—they were at it night and day; and though we had a good deal to do in disposing of all the things which came to shore, they had plenty of trouble with them before they got there. We worked in this way for ten days. The roads and streets also claimed our attention: no word but filthy can describe their condition. They were bad when we arrived; but as the men living on either side, threw out of doors every article which they deemed superfluous or disagreeable in their quarters, their condition may perhaps be imagined. We had a good deal of rain, and the main street assumed the appearance of a morass of rubbish. Hot sun alternated with rain, and how we escaped fever I cannot imagine. I heard that the medical officer, whose peculiar province was that of sanitary arrangements, was completely at fault; for, according to every law of nature, we ought to be decimated by disease; but, instead of that, we were remarkably healthy.

The damage had all been done in a few minutes, but the rectification would take days. The best we could do was to throw down the materials of houses necessarily

demolished, to bury the festering mass. How long we should have enjoyed this immunity is doubtful. It was certainly a bright day for the force when it made its forward move.

Here, as in Ta-lien-hwan Bay, we found a scarcity of water, as that of the river was brackish. It was only just towards the close of the ebb tide that it was fresh enough for the horses: many of them would hardly drink it even then. On our arrival we found large jars of water in every house, which we carefully husbanded; and when this was consumed, Admiral Hope sent water-boats to a considerable distance up the river for a fresh supply. It was placed in jars in a range of buildings devoted to the purpose, and served out regularly to the troops daily, on a fixed scale—one officer being intrusted solely with this most necessary arrangement.

The land-transport camp was on an open piece of ground on the north side of the town, separated from it by a creek, over which a wooden pile-bridge was formed. This creek, as well as another near it, was filled by the tide, which overflowed a large level space of ground between this camp and the high road; and it was seen that if this plain could be dried, it would afford an open area for the collection of all the cavalry and the transport animals which were quartered on that side of the town, and enable them to be got into the line of march on our advance, without passing through the crowded and inconvenient streets. To effect this object, we collected a quantity of material, and at low tide made two massive dams across the creeks, working hard to get them up more quickly than the tide could rise. We succeeded in beating the water, and on the 9th the plain was dry. But, alas! the 10th was a wet day—the plain was flooded again, and no exit was there for the water. So

we had to set to work again, determined not to be beaten, and made openings in our dam. We then prepared wooden troughs, which we laid in the bottom and puddled round with clay. These troughs had self-acting valves, such as I had seen used in the marshes in Essex, which opened from the pressure of water behind, but remained closed on a similar application from the front. Thus at low tide all accumulated water found an exit, but could not return. We were now successful, and the ebb on the 11th cleared the plain ; and just in time, for on the 12th we were to march towards the Pei-ho.

The second day after our arrival at Peh-tang a strong reconnoitring party had been sent along *the* road—for there was only one. A mud plain extends miles on either side, that on the left or seaward being rather wet, whilst on the landward side it was more dry. This force encountered a picquet of Tartar cavalry stationed at a roadside house, who retired and gave the alarm ; on which a fire was opened on the reconnoitring party from entrenchments constructed on terra firma, which near this house, succeeded to the mud-bank country. Two earthworks were observed in advance of an extensive entrenchment, which apparently surrounded the town of "Sin-ho." As at that time we were not prepared for an onward move, it was considered inexpedient to bring on an action, therefore some guns, which had been sent for as soon as the extent of the fire brought to bear upon the force had been noticed, were not brought into play ; and the column retired, after having sustained a loss of some ten or a dozen men wounded, principally French, of whom I heard that two died soon after. This appears to have given confidence to the Tartars, for they never even attempted

to cut up this road, our main line of advance. They no doubt thought, that as they had driven us back by this distant fire, their works round "Sin-ho" would be impregnable.

The 12th August was a beautiful day. We paraded at half-past four A.M.; but the First Division, to which I belonged, did not get out of the place for some time, as the Second Division was in front. I have said that the cavalry was (by our draining work) enabled to march out clear of the streets, and the artillery had been wisely parked on a plot of open ground at the extreme point of the town, where the road entered, and were therefore able to get out without much trouble; but, under any circumstances, the marching of men up narrow streets, deep in mud, full of holes, and treacherous in footing, must be a long and wearisome business. We, however, at length found ourselves on the road.

The Second Division, after following the beaten track for some little distance, diverged to the right; and after having, with great trouble, crossed some intervening heavy ground, in which the guns were wellnigh sticking for ever, they got on to some comparatively practicable country, leaving the road to the First Division. The second came in for the best part of the business, for against them the Tartar cavalry came out, and tasted their first experience of English artillery, and Sikh cavalry. They skirmished all round the force and seemed inclined to envelope them, but did not, as a mass, come to close quarters: they made one dashing charge at Stirling's battery, but were met by a volley of canister, followed up by a charge of a body of Fane's horse who cut them up in style. We lost a man killed and a few wounded, about sixteen in all; but they suffered considerably. The performances of in-

dividuals were spoken of afterwards much as one would speak of the success on that same day on the Moors. People said Fane killed three, another officer killed five, and so on.

Our Division had not the same excitement. On debouching from the road on to the plain, we were fired upon as the reconnoitring party had been, from the outworks. We gave them a round or two from our artillery, and went on, whereupon they abandoned their works, leaving a few dead men and horses behind them. On nearing the Sin-ho entrenchment they fired on us rather more vigorously : the Royals were put forward in skirmishing order ; our artillery gave them another dose ; we went on and found these lines also abandoned. The Tartars who had received a taste of the second division fled, and those in front of us followed suit, and the flight was general. We saw them galloping off towards the Takoo forts as hard as they could go. We gave them a parting shot or two and some rockets, and all was over. We entered Sin-ho uninterrupted. The first sight which struck me after inspecting the Tartar camp, left in haste, the dinners half eaten, was an immense excitement in the streets. What could it be ? only French soldiers pursuing and bayoneting pigs : they were all over the place, hen- and pig-hunting ; their consideration for the *pauvres malades* seemed to have overpowered all sense of discipline. We marched through the town, and on the open ground outside, met with the Second Division. General de Montauban, made a reconnaissance along the road by which the Tartars had retreated, and sounded "the assembly" to get some of his troops together for the purpose. It was a curious sight to see them responding to the call with their booty. One with a quarter of a

pig attached to some parts of his accoutrements, others with quacking ducks or fowls with half-wrung necks, pendant from their knapsacks. It seemed as if the *system* worked, and that there was more discipline at the bottom than one would have given credit for. This party was briskly fired on from a strong-looking work in the front; and after an artillery duel between the enemy's and the light Napoleon guns, it was determined to do no more that afternoon, and we prepared to bivouac in Sin-ho for the night.

We found that we had effected the desirable object of reaching the Pei-ho, which was about three-quarters of a mile outside the town. We had a base now, consisting of the road by which we had advanced; Peh-tang with our fleet and stores being at one end, and Sin-ho with our army at the other; the northern Takoo forts were in the apex of the triangle at the mouth of the Pei-ho.

I saw a sad case of wanton cruelty here. As we marched through the village we saw a poor white-headed old man, apparently blind, standing at the side of the road with doffed hat and lowered pigtail, bowing and repeating the customary greeting of "tsin-tsin," which we returned. After us followed a troop of Sikh horse who passed us and went on. Not many minutes after we were ordered to return to the village, and take up our quarters. We passed the place where the old man had stood, but he was now lying on his face apparently dead, with a hideous spear wound in his back. Returning some time later we observed that he was now on his side, and was still alive. We had him removed, and one of our doctors attended him; but the poor old fellow died that night. The Sikh who killed him may have lost a comrade that day at the hands of the Tartars, and should be so far excused; but this is only one

glimpse of the horrors of war. How numerous and how dreadful they are and must be, it is hard to realize! No one who has seen them can ever think lightly of the often too little-considered prayer, "Give peace in our time, O Lord."

The only success the Tartars had that day was in the capture of a party of our stragglers, consisting of two English soldiers, two Madras sappers, and some coolies. One of the Englishmen was afterwards beheaded for refusing to prostrate himself before the mandarin into whose presence he was brought for examination. The other soldiers were sent back under a flag of truce after the capture of Tangkoo, in return for prisoners whom we sent away from that place.

The evening was taken up with examining our position, and seeing what works would be necessary prior to the next move. Bridges were the great necessity; two had to be made at once—that is, the first thing in the morning. The natives had generally abandoned the place; I did not notice many left: one poor woman would have done well to fly, if she had the power. On returning to my quarters in the evening, I saw a French soldier pacing up and down at the back of a house; as I passed him I heard through a window the sounds of a woman's voice, sobbing in great distress. I did not at the moment connect the two circumstances in my mind, but stopped abruptly, and was about to address the man, when uttering a cry he fled. I rushed round towards the door of the house, but took a wrong turn; through a little window I saw a French soldier, comrade to the other, rush from a poor woman's side to the door; before I could get round he was many yards off. How then I longed for my pistol which I had not with me; I am glad now that I had not: I hunted the

man, calling out to every one to stop him, but my heavy long boots gave him the advantage, and he escaped. Returning, I tried to comfort the poor creature, but, naturally, she was as much frightened at me as at the others, so I left her, telling our sentry who was within view of the house, to allow no one to approach it. In the morning she was dead. Whatever wars we may enter into, may we be saved from invasion.

At eleven o'clock we ascended to bed; not upstairs, but on to the roof of an out-house, as was our wont in these parts. The roofs are nearly flat, covered with sun-baked mud, and form a sleeping-place, rather colder, but less irritating than the interior of the houses. This night it was very cold. I rose at three A.M. and got men together for the bridges: one was made from some materials fitted together, and brought from Hong Kong for the purpose; the other was made of the two gunwales of an old rotten barge, which we laid across and planked over. These were finished in the morning, and two more commenced.

The object of these bridges was to get our force on to the plain which lay outside the walls of Tang-koo, for such was the name of the place in front of us. I have said that there was a road leading to it from Sin-ho, and along this road General de Montauban had pushed his reconnaissance the evening before. This, in fact, was the only communication between the two places. It was, like the road from Peh-tang, raised above the general level, by means of earth excavated on either side. It was a very good road to travel on, if no one was shooting at you from the end; but as it was impossible to deviate from it either to the right or left, it was by no means a desirable approach under existing circumstances. It was observed that the ground on the

left, towards Peh-tang, was low and damp, whilst that on the right, between the road and the Pei-ho, was dry, and covered with vegetation. Hence it was determined to advance on Tang-koo along the latter plain : with the right of our line on the Pei-ho, and the left on the road : bridges were required to gain access to this plain in different points, and also to cross some small creeks which intersected the course of the proposed line of advance.

The ground was well reconnoitred by the Generals ; and in the evening, our works being completed, the force crossed on to the plain and encamped. This was done by about seven P.M. At eight, a working party was sent out under Colonel Mann, R.E., to make a trench to give cover to riflemen within range of the walls. I accompanied them, and after taking a cup of preserved soup, off we set : there was a working party of six hundred and fifty, and a covering party of five hundred. It soon got perfectly dark, but having tolerably well examined the ground in the afternoon, we got on pretty well. After a time we heard voices, and dogs barking in front of us, and we knew that we had got near a village on the river bank ; so we turned to the left, keeping the village close on our right hand. At length we saw the walls rise against the sky. We now halted the party, and a few of us crept on : suddenly we heard a snort and a scuffle of hoofs, but it came only from some loose mules which we had seen, and tried to catch in the afternoon.

It had been decided that the trench should be five hundred yards from the wall ; but in the dark it was hard to estimate the distance, so we adopted the safe course of going up to the wall, and measuring five hundred yards back from it. Colonel Mann and

I crept on, taking a few men with us, dropping them one by one, so as to form a chain. We found a ditch on our right, beyond which was a bank of sedges; on our left was a plain. Keeping along the side of the ditch, we came at last to a narrow strip of dry ground, a sort of roadway, with the ditch still on the right and water also on the left. On we crept silently until the wall rose high, close in front of us. A Tartar sentinel challenged, and a murmur of excitement was heard on the wall. We then, after lying quiet for a moment, paced the distance back, and marked off as well as we could, the position for the trench, tracing it parallel to the line of the work.

We dug away well, and were not interrupted: the enemy kept firing light-balls from time to time, but did not molest us. Shortly before daybreak we retired, having completed a trench about two hundred and fifty yards long, and three feet deep, with the earth thrown up in front for a parapet.

We reached camp at four A.M. At five I turned out again to take command of the Engineers in the attack which was to come off immediately. It is no slight affair for Engineers, that of preparing for a thing of this sort. It is not a case of shoulder arms and quick march. First of all the men had to be got ready. Pontoons and their superstructure had to be taken for crossing the ditches, scaling-ladders for ascending the walls; entrenching tools for making good any breach or entrance to the place, or for operations inside; powder bags to blow open gates; saws, axes, hammers, and spikes, and for the officers, compass for surveying, telescope, pencil and paper, or sketch-book, as well as sword and revolver. Therefore it will be understood that there was not much time for breakfast. A hasty

cup of cocoa formed my meal. We had noticed in the night an awkward wet place, a sort of ford crossing a ditch, which would be troublesome for the artillery; so we sent a party into a plantation to cut down boughs to lay over the mud, and these we carried on our ladders. We were not long getting under weigh.

It was a lovely morning, and we formed a beautiful spectacle. As we advanced, the enemy fired on us from some guns in a battery on the opposite bank of the river, in such a position as to enfilade or rake our line as we passed it, and take us in reverse afterwards: this it was necessary to silence; and Captain Willes, with a handful of seamen, made a gallant dash across the river in a native boat, and drove the Tartars from the place, spiking the guns. Another battery on that side of the river, but a good deal lower down, opened fire, but their shot went over us. A couple of Armstrongs were set to work to shut it up; but they worked very creditably for some time, much longer than I could have thought they would stand our accurate fire.

When within about a thousand yards of the works, our artillery opened fire in line. It was a beautiful sight, the long line of field guns in front, the infantry in rear. We Engineers were on the extreme right, under the trees of the village, very nearly on the ground we had passed over in the evening. Our artillery advanced regularly, firing a round or two; then limbering up, advancing, halting, and firing again. Major Anson suddenly dashed away from the Commander-in-chief, galloped straight up to our trench, cantered along its edge, a conspicuous mark on his white charger; we saw the dust rising in little puffs

about him, followed by cracks from the matchlocks. He reached a mound, behind which he halted, and seemed to be counting the enemy's guns through his glass, and then cantered back again. The Rifles were then sent out skirmishing on the right; they lined our trench, and got into the sedges on the river bank. The artillery continued firing and advancing, until they got in front of the trench, and the enemy's fire seemed subdued; though on our left, in front of the French, it still went on. The Tartars really for a time fought nobly: I saw one man stripped to his loins, fighting his gun single-handed, after every bit of parapet near him had been knocked away, and our shot was crashing in all round him. I was sent for now to bring up the pontoons to cross the ditch; but before they could get up, the Rifles on the right, who had been advancing in the sedges, found an assailable point at the angle of the work, where it abutted on the river, and over the wall they went like a pack of hounds. They hurried to the left, where the guns were still opposing the French; but the Tartars saw the game was up, and fled incontinently, crossing the river where they could get boats, and rushing out of the opposite gates towards Takoo.

Our immediate work was to improve the entrance at the spot where the Rifles had scaled, to repair the bridge where the main road entered the town, and to make a pontoon bridge in a spot between the two; so that we had three places by which we could enter, two available for horses and artillery, and one fit for men only. We found twenty-one guns on the walls. The poor Tartars were lying quite thick beside them. I think it is more impressive seeing men lying dead round their post in battery than strewn on the plain. In one case the post

of duty is absolutely before you, and their fulfilment of it patent to all, while in the other it is only suggested. Having seen that one brave man, the survivor of all the gun detachment, working his gun alone; loading and firing, among the corpses of his fellows, with no one near to applaud him, nor witness his fall, working away, whatever his motive might be, until he fell like his comrades, I could not but picture to myself, in all these grim groups, of eight or ten, perhaps, at a gun, how one by one they had fallen away, and yet the survivors disdained to fly; for they really seemed to represent in each case the entire gun detachment: there were the guns, the barracks behind, and no appearance of large numbers, or reinforcements being employed. The dead were not removed in any case. The whole scene bore the appearance of the guns having been manned at first, and fought till there was no one left to fight them; and I believe the first to fly were those who had not been engaged.

The town was some few hundred yards within the line of rampart. The quarters for the garrison were in little defensible camps—square or oblong enclosures with mud wall and ditch, and containing neatly-built huts in rows—the best military huts I have seen. Their construction was in this wise:—Imagine a door-frame with a window over; then imagine two window-frames, one on either side of the door and attached to it, the window heads and sills being fastened to the door-posts. Next imagine a pair of these frames stood on end at a convenient distance apart, then a pole laid from the centre of one door-head to the other, another from the outer upper corners of the side windows, and you have the skeleton of a hut. Long faggots of reeds, long enough to pass over the ridge and down to the

ground on either side, are thrown across, picketed firmly into the ground at each end, and laid close beside one another, forming something like an arched roof, that shape being given by the longitudinal beams which support them. The whole is plastered with tempered clay; and you have a wholesome, warm, or cool, (as desirable,) well-ventilated house: of course capable of being subdivided in any way, or embellished and improved upon according to taste. Such were the Tartar quarters in the north of China.


The Second Division only was established in the town, the First remaining in their camp on the plain. Our quarters were speedily allotted, and food prepared, which was very welcome to me, as within forty-eight hours I had only had one cup of soup and one of cocoa. There were a great many pigs; but they were badly husbanded, being killed for the fun of the thing by men who would not take the trouble to carry them off. We were, therefore, compelled very soon to bury a quantity of what might have been good meat. It is difficult to bring yourself to eat a pig that you find lying dead at the road-side, even though sure it has been lately killed: it is a different thing to hunting and killing your own pig: hence it was, that while one pig would feed many men, the many men killed many pigs, and as all would only eat the results of their own sport, many more were killed than could probably be eaten. They were, however, a God-send to the famished gaunt dogs which abounded.

The dogs form a curious feature in a captured place. Their masters are gone—their homes invaded—they see none but strangers, receive nothing but harsh treatment. At Sebastopol, the long duration of the siege had rendered them wild and savage. They congregated

in troops, like perfectly wild beasts : their whole nature seemed changed ; they lived as they could, feeding on offal, and, I dare say, frequently on human flesh. We used there to have dog-hunts, and the carcase of a horse or camel was always a good draw. I have more than once seen a dog break cover from inside a camel, a retreat where he found both board and lodging. At Peh-tang they were very wretched : they were driven out of the town, and roamed about, gradually starving on the plains outside. At Tang-koo it was the same. One beast was found outside the town, by one of our officers, eating a dead baby. Though these scavengers would really be useful to us, they were senselessly killed like the pigs. Destructiveness, whether of life or property, is probably inherent in man. There is certainly to Engineers a pleasure in demolition.

From Tang-koo we could see the famous Takoo, or Pei-ho forts. Between us and them was an entrenchment ; but it proved, on reconnoitring it, to be untenanted, or nearly so. A few shots were fired at us, when out for that purpose, from the opposite side of the river ; and they also fired at Tang-koo from the same place, but not frequently. We put some Armstrong guns in battery near the south gate of the town, and practised a little with them ; but there was not much firing on either side.

One day, shortly after the capture of the town, the prisoners taken on the day we advanced from Peh-tang, were brought back under a flag of truce. We also sent away those natives whom we had found in the place. I observed when we entered the town, more than one who had committed suicide. One was in our quarters lying dead on his bed, poisoned with opium. He appeared a strong, healthy man, who might have run



away if he had liked, which one would certainly think preferable to the other course. We were so long before the place, that he would have had plenty of time to clear out, if he did not want to fight; and surely anything is better than killing yourself in a battle. However, there is no accounting for what Chinamen will do.



CHAPTER XXVI.

Bridge over the Pei-ho—Preparations for attack on the Takoo forts—Capture of upper fort, and surrender of the remainder—Advance on Tien-tsin—The Tien-tsin lines—Encampment—Market—Negotiations broken off—I quit the army—Floating hospitals—Return to England.

It became necessary now to make a bridge across the Pei-ho, with a view to the capture of the forts on the south bank. The point selected was at Sin-ho, where our First Division still remained encamped. I was appointed to take charge of the operation. The French were to do one half, whilst we did the other, working from the opposite banks, and meeting in the centre. The bridge was to be constructed with boats, which we had found at Tang-koo.

The first question to be decided between myself and the French Engineers, was which side of the river each was to take. I assumed that, as they had a camp on the south side, where they had established a strong picquet some days before, they would take that bank, as we had not a single man there; but this was objected to, and we had recourse to drawing lots, by which the south side fell to me, therefore every bit of our material had to be taken across. We had brought from Hong Kong a quantity of baulks and planking ready prepared, such as is used for the superstructure of pontoon bridges, and this had to be carried from Peh-tang. The French used such materials as they

found on the spot in Sin-ho. We had a little boat (a dingey), carried over also from Peh-tang, to transport us backwards and forwards. I moved one company of Engineers across the river, and encamped there, leaving another on the north bank. The latter was employed in making the communications between our army and the great bridge, which necessitated the construction of three more small bridges, besides cutting a roadway through an orchard, and filling up divers small ditches.

The river was 270 yards wide—as nearly as possible the width of the Thames at London Bridge: the rise and fall of tide at springs was ten or eleven feet, and the current very rapid, occasionally running at as great a rate as five and a half or six knots an hour. The boats were decked over, and about eight feet wide. We should have wished to fix our baulks or timbers on the centre of each boat, so as to give stability to the bridge; but, as they were of a strength calculated for a bearing distance of only twelve feet, that was out of the question, as we should, in the first place, not reach across the river with the number of boats we possessed, if placed so close; but also there would be a waterway of only four feet between every two boats, and, with such a current as existed, the bridge would inevitably be swept away. We were therefore compelled to fix our baulks to the gunwales, which gave us a waterway of about twelve feet, and utilized the deck of each boat as a portion of the roadway. We commenced work on the 20th.


The construction was as follows:—The boats were fastened together in pairs, by baulks laid across from one to the other, and secured to the gunwale of each, the baulks being covered over with planks lashed down to them. Each pair of boats formed a raft about twenty-

eight feet wide, including the decks of the two boats. Each boat had two anchors, one at either end. On board of each raft was stowed the superstructure of baulks and planks sufficient for the formation of a "bay," as it is technically called, twelve feet wide, to connect two of these rafts together. Every fastening was made either by means of cleats and pins, or by lashing, so that the entire bridge could be easily put together and taken to pieces again. The French, on the other side, made their bridge rigid. They were not bound to any dimension in the length of their baulks, and put their boats about sixteen feet apart, resting the baulks, which must have been twenty-four feet long, on trestles raised on the centre of each boat. Their fastenings were made with nails and spikes. Though their bridge was stable, it was not so easily repairable as ours; nor did it afford the advantage of preserving an open waterway for vessels, as ours did, in a manner which I shall shortly describe. The mode of forming the floating part of the bridge was as follows:—A raft was taken in tow by the dingey at slack water, the only period of the tide at which we could work; and being taken to a position in line with that which it should occupy in the bridge, but considerably above or below it (we will say below), each boat let go its anchors. It was then towed up, the stern cables being payed out, until it arrived at a spot as far above its ultimate position as the former point was below it, and there the other anchors were let go. Paying out the last cables, we hauled on the others, until the proper position was attained, when all were hauled taut, and the raft was in position. The process was repeated, and another raft was placed abreast of this one, but twelve feet off. The positions were adjusted by breast-lines passed from

raft to raft, and the intermediate piece of flooring laid across—and so on.

In order to make a cut in the bridge, it was only necessary to take up a bay of the flooring on either side of a raft, slack off one of the sets of cables, allow the raft to drift out of its position, by the tide, and haul it out of the way by the breast-lines. When the bridge was to be re-formed, it was in like manner brought into position by hauling on the cables. If a wider opening was wanted, two rafts were slipped, and one put on each side of the cut; and, if necessary, the whole bridge could in a few minutes be broken up into rafts, and sent floating down the river.

We did more work than our allies, for I find from my notes that we bridged five hundred and ten feet to their two hundred and ninety feet. The sailors who were sent to work here under Captain Gibson, R.N., and Lieutenants Gordon and May, were invaluable, always hard at work, ready and cheery. For myself, I know I rarely sat down between five A.M. and seven P.M., as in addition to the bridge I had charge also of the works and approaches on the other side of the river. We began, as I said, on the 20th August, and the bridge was completed by evening of the 23rd. We had many difficulties to contend with. In the first place, there was the strong tide, in consequence of which it was only for a few minutes, about the time of high and low water that we could put our boats in position. Another difficulty was the want of anchors: we had to hunt far and near for them. We found some near the battery which Captain Willes had taken on the 14th, as there was a dock there; but in order to transport these, we had to send down one of our lumbering-rafts more than a mile at the turn of the tide; for they were



too heavy for the dingey. Then we had to construct or contrive the remainder, making a rude anchor of wood with a sort of cage or net-work at the junction of the shank, which we filled with stones. Then again as we had the cut, we often received damage from passing craft who got foul of us; but I find I am anticipating, for when we commenced the bridge, the river was still closed. Yet another difficulty was the rise and fall of the tide, as our bridge was sometimes level with the bank, and sometimes ten feet below it. This we got over, by extending a pier or jetty, from the bank, at the end of which we made a great gang-board, moving on a self-acting hinge on the pier-head; and of which the lower end rested on one of our boats, which was an odd one, not connected with a fellow like the others, but fixed to the pair beyond it, and on its deck the toe of the gang-board, was allowed to slide as the length of the bridge varied from the shifting tide. In order to strengthen the gang-board, which was necessarily long and springy, we had a pair of piles driven on each side of the bridge about six inches apart, and in these grooves worked a beam which extended across under the centre of the gang-board, to take the weight at the weakest point; being lashed at the proper height according to the state of the tide.

Whilst we were working at the bridge, preparations were being made for the attack on the Pei-ho forts. The one in front of us at Tang-koo was the upper one of five, the second was on the opposite or south bank of the river, the third was on the north side; the fourth (the great south fort, which we attacked in 1859,) was on the south side, and the fifth, a remote one which hardly could come into play, was also on that side. The upper north fort was the key to the position: they

were all closed to the rear, which was the side now exposed to us, and provided with guns on that side, though they were originally designed to be strongest towards the front, as no doubt they still were. We could, however, see men strengthening them on the side opposed to us, as probably they had been doing ever since our landing at Peh-tang. It was therefore obvious that any delay in the attack after we were once ready, would be greatly to the advantage of the enemy.

Ten pieces of heavy ordnance having arrived from Peh-tang by the 19th, the 67th Regiment, together with Milward's battery of Armstrong guns, and a force of Engineers, were sent out to within one thousand yards of the fort, and they constructed four causeways to admit of the passage of men and guns to the attack.

A further reconnaissance was made at night by Colonel Mann and Lieutenant Courtney, R.E., and it was found that there was good hard ground free from obstacles to within two hundred yards of the fort. The next day the ground was still further examined by the Commander-in-chief, and it was found that on the left, the country was so much cut up by ditches or canals as to render it impracticable: it was therefore determined to make the attack on the right; and on that night five batteries were formed by our Engineers. No. 1 had an eight-inch gun, and six French field-pieces; No. 2 had three eight-inch mortars; No. 3 two eight-inch howitzers and two 32-pounders; No. 4 two eight-inch guns, and No. 5 six Armstrong guns.

The decision to attack the north fort at once, had been made by Sir Hope Grant. The French would rather have first thrown a force across, and either made a simultaneous attack on the south forts or at all events

placed a force in their rear. Sir Hope Grant's plan gave the best chance of success with the minimum of loss. The French mistrusted my statement, that the great south fort possessed few guns, if any, which could be brought to bear on the great north fort and its approaches, whilst the latter almost entirely commanded the former. Indeed, the south fort could hardly have been held with the great north fort in our hands. Sir Hope, however, acted on my report, and the result proved that his plan was right.

If his object had been slaughter, he could certainly have done more by a simultaneous attack, and by cutting off the retreat towards Tien-tsin, by placing his cavalry on the high road leading from Ta-koo and the south forts; but the possession of the forts was the great point—not the slaughter; and it would have been impossible to have made the double attack without a greater loss to ourselves than we actually did sustain.

On the 21st the upper north fort was attacked and taken, and by night the whole of the others had been surrendered to us, the Chinese finding the ground cut from under their feet by our success on this main point of their position. Meanwhile, though not engaged in the attack, we were working hard to afford the army the means of crossing, and it was not without some feelings of regret that we heard that the south forts, which were to fall to our Division, had not waited for us; and that though our bridge was still a necessity, it was not to be the means by which the final overthrow of the Ta-koo forts was to be caused.

During the night of the 21st, the gun-boats made a passage through the booms and stakes in the river, and were in a position to ascend the Tien-tsin; and on the 24th I received orders to arrange for the embarkation

of a battery of artillery from the bridge. This was putting it to a severe test, and I undertook it under protest. The guns were on the north side; they had to be brought across the French portion of the bridge on to mine, and then a cut was made in which the gun-boat was placed, and the guns were embarked from the unconnected end of the bridge, as from a pier-head. The risk to the bridge was very great, both from the gun-boats hanging against it for so long, as well as from the almost inevitable crowding and confusion on a structure so fragile, and possessing but little superfluous strength, besides the chance of accidents; for it is a far different thing marching guns across a floating bridge, and collecting them on it in the way proposed. I could not, therefore, help feeling anxious, and was very glad when the demi-battery was safe on board. On the next afternoon I made an artillery embarkation-pier on the north bank of the river, working till ten P.M. to get it done to allow of the remainder of the battery being put on board that night, to follow the first portion, which with the Royals had gone up in advance.

My work being now slack, I took two holidays, devoting the first to a visit to the north forts, and the second to the south. We found, on the latter day, a party of Manilla seamen looting the town of Takoo. Being appealed to by the natives, we made a vigorous attack on the rascals, and pursuing them, we gave them a sound licking. The Chinese were immensely amused, and acted as our hounds, chasing the men on foot; and, under our protection, unearthing them from any hiding-places where we could not follow on horseback. One we fairly drove into the river.

On the 29th, the artillery of the First Division crossed the bridge and encamped on the south side, in readiness

for a forward move on the morrow. The Division got over by about six A.M., when we fell into our place, and all moved off together. After crossing the plain between the bridge and the Tien-tsin road, we had a very pleasant march: our path lay through orchards and gardens. It appeared that a fringe of ground, thus cultivated, bordered the river, for when the road passed from one point on the river's bank to another, forming the chord to its curves, we found that we had to cross an open plain, regaining the orchards as we again neared the river.

By noon we reached our camping-ground, an open plain on the farther side of the village of "Ko-kow." After pitching our tents we went into the village, and bought fowls, ducks, and eggs; for our commissariat had not come up.

Next day we were to have an afternoon march: we devoted the morning to the inspection of a dismantled Tartar camp. Ever since the capture of Tang-koo we had seen fires and sometimes heard explosions in the neighbourhood. The buildings near our bridge had been gutted and burnt, and even these camps had the appearance of having been destroyed by fire. We then had a little snipe-shooting; and at three P.M. we marched with the artillery and 2nd (Queen's), reaching our second camping-ground at half-past seven. On the way we got several snipe.

On the next morning, the 1st September, I was ordered to go on with the Engineers alone, to repair a cut in the road near the Tien-tsin forts, so as to have it passable, before the arrival of the main force. We marched at seven A.M., and reached the Tien-tsin lines at about eleven. We found in the forts, which formed the left point of this line of works, a company of the

67th, who had come up by water. They were quartered in the Tartar huts. Leaving a few men to take up our quarters, and cook the dinners, we set to work at once at our task.

We were much inconvenienced by the numbers of Chinese continually trying to pass along the narrow bit of road left untouched for foot traffic, and which we were widening by cutting down the rampart and throwing the earth into the chasm. At last we hit on an expedient. We made each man who wished to pass, pay the toll of five minutes' work before we let him over. They seemed puzzled at first, but soon entered into the fun of the thing, and treated it as a capital joke.

Just as we had finished, a staff officer came to say that another and a better road had been found, by which the troops would be marched; but as a good deal of the work had been done on the above easy terms, we did not break our hearts at the uselessness of our employment.

Several defensive works had been constructed in the neighbourhood of Tien-tsin between 1858 and 1860; probably in 1858-59, at the same time as the Pei-ho forts. About ten miles below the town were three enclosed batteries, one on the north and two on the south bank of the river, to dispute the passage of gun-boats. At the place where we encamped on the second night of our march, there was a redoubt which commanded the road. Tien-tsin was surrounded at a radial distance of about three thousand yards by a line of rampart and ditch, intended evidently to prevent a bombardment of the city from the land. It was strong in section, with a broad and deep ditch, but formed a weak line, from its extreme extent and want of strong

points for artillery. It would require an immense force to defend its entire length, and it would be easy to pierce it at any particular point; a defect common to all systems of continuous lines.

At the point where these works abutted on the river there was a well-built redoubt on either bank. It was in one of these that we were at present quartered.

The afternoon of the 1st September, and the following day, we devoted to visits to Tien-tsin and the neighbourhood. The ice and fruit were great luxuries. The ice, which was in large clear blocks, and sold at a very cheap rate, we kept, and allowed to melt for the purpose of drinking, the water of the river being extremely muddy, and only made fit for use by the action of alum as a clarifier. The peaches, apples, pears, and grapes were all very good. We bought them out of boats which plied on the river with these delicious-looking cargoes. The fruit was kept in ice, and came out with a most tempting-looking dew on the surface. A large market was established without the city, on a plain near the large building in which Lord Elgin had signed the treaty of 1858, and a tariff was fixed, by which the price of everything was regulated. This being published in general orders, there was no extortion, nor subject for dispute between the natives and the troops. It certainly was wonderfully low, but the manner in which the market was filled, was an evidence that the prices were remunerative to the sellers.

On the 3rd we left our quarters in the fort, and joined our division, which was encamped on the plain just outside the lines. As it was proposed to maintain this camp during the negotiations, and until the signature of the treaty, it was laid out with great care, and my first work was to arrange for its thorough drainage,

as, in the event of heavy rains, it would otherwise be uninhabitable from the level nature of the country.

Whilst this work was going on, Lord Elgin was engaged in the negotiations, and arranging for his visit to Peking; but my own Chinese experiences here draw to a close, for on the 4th I was taken ill, and on the 6th was carried in from the camp to Tien-tsin. Sir Hope Grant had given orders that I should survey the country between Tien-tsin and Peking; but I was unfit for further work, and on the 8th was sent down to the hospital-ship, "Mauritius," then lying off the mouth of the Pei-ho. It was the very day my company was ordered to march to Peking, the negotiations having been suddenly broken off.

Too great praise cannot be given to all connected with the management of these hospitals: first, with regard to the forethought with which everything was prepared and arranged in the fitting out of the vessels in England; secondly, the unremitting attention and care of the medical officers in this most tedious and harassing charge, as well as the liberal provision for the diet of the patients; and last, but not least, the attention paid by the officers of the vessels to the wishes of the medical officers and the comfort of the patients.

But it was a weary time: for more than two months I was a prisoner on board the "Mauritius." It soon became evident that I should not be fit for farther service in the country, and a medical board recommended my immediate return to England; but it was long before the necessary orders were received. Sick and wounded officers came and went again, and we heard news of what was going on round Peking, the engagements before Tung-chow, the capture of Parkes and his companions, the looting of the Summer Palace, the sur-

render of Peking, the tortures endured by poor De Norman, Bowlby, and others, before their death. All this we heard, longing to do something. If it was a good day with us and we felt well, we desired to be at Peking; if ill, to be at home : but wishing was vain. The weary, monotonous outline of the coast I fancy we shall never forget. However, at last it came to an end, for on the 14th of November I left, and, running down before the monsoon, reached Hong Kong on the 22nd. On the 29th I sailed for England. It was an inglorious finish, and I should have much liked to see Peking; but it was not to be, and I was, on the whole, fortunate in getting out of China so well as I did. If I succeed in interesting the public by a recital of my experiences there, my object in publishing them will be attained.

Another purpose this work may, perhaps, serve. I have very often been asked, "What are the duties of an Engineer officer in a campaign?" This is rather a difficult question to reply to within a reasonable compass; but I trust that any reader who may have desired such information has found it in the foregoing pages, and will not object to the medium through which it has been conveyed.

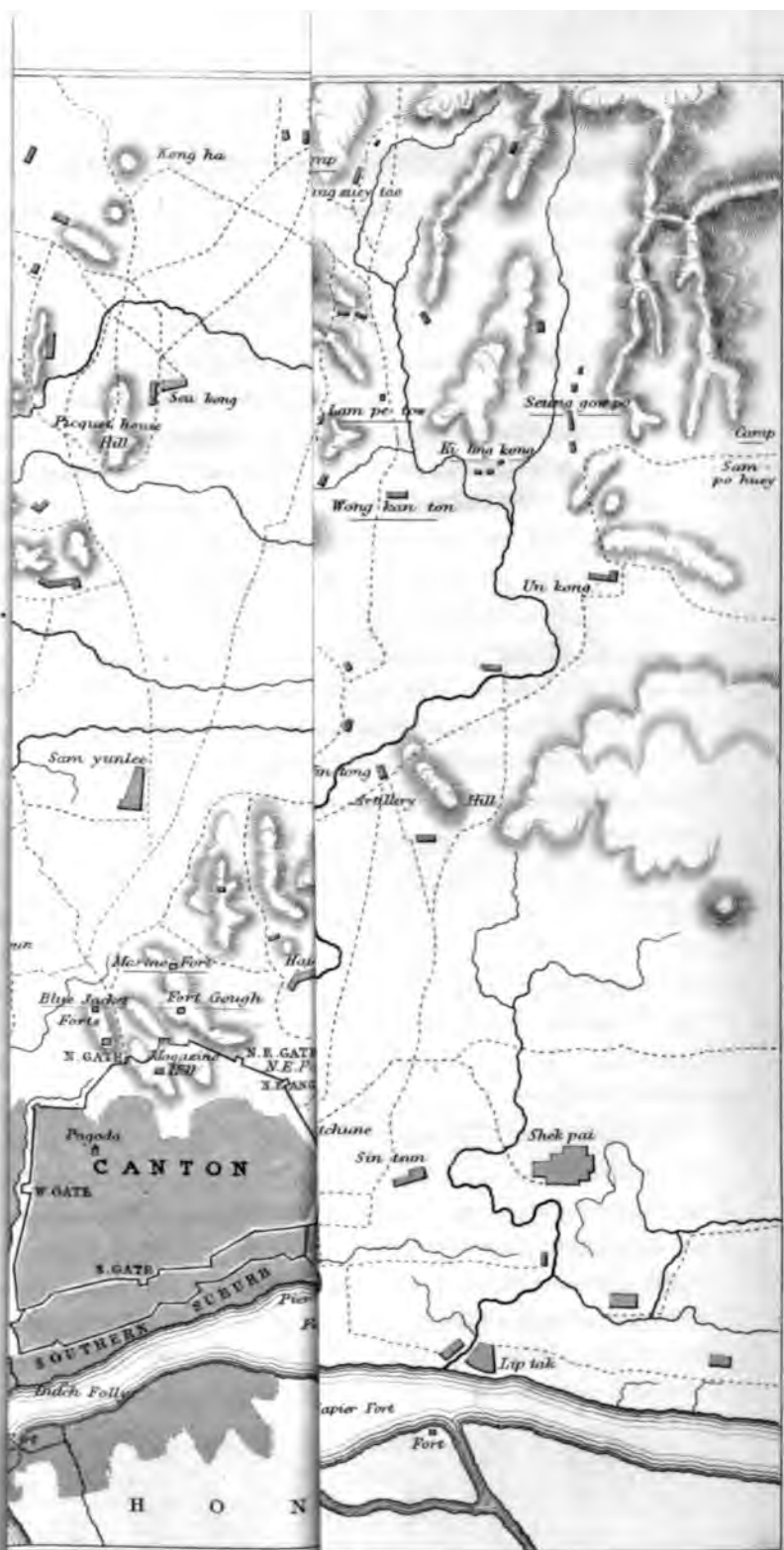
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